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Justin Fox on the
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Conscious Eating:
Do Calorie Counts
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TIME

Iran vs. Iran

What I Saw at the Revolution

BY JOE KLEIN





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On the cover: Mousavi supporters in Tehran's Azadi Square on June 15 protest Ahmadinejad's disputed re-election. Photograph from Sipa Press. Digitally altered. Insets, from left: Photograph by Raoul Benavides for TIME; Photo-illustration by C.J. Burton for TIME

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10 Questions.

As *Do the Right Thing* turns 20 this month, its director looks back.

Spike Lee will now take your questions

What impact would you say that *Do the Right Thing* had on race relations in America?

Aqeel Kameelah

FORT LAUDERDALE, FLA.

Well, it didn't end it. [Laughs.] I don't know what film will be able to do that. I think maybe a better question might be, Can you still do films today dealing with race in the so-called, quote-unquote, post-racial world we live in? I don't even know what that is when people say that. It would be a different movie, but I don't think that subject matter has been exhausted.

Do people still ask you why Mookie threw the garbage can through the window at the end of the movie?

Jason Geller

NEW YORK CITY

Not as much. It has died down somewhat after 20 years. What we wanted to do is to have people have serious discussions and debates about this subject which a lot of people feel uncomfortable about. That was the intent from the beginning.

How do you respond to young people, especially with the election of Barack Obama, who believe racism is not as significant as it was for older generations?

Martin Zacharia, CHICAGO

It might not be as significant, but it still has significance. I will admit that younger people have different attitudes about race than their parents and grandparents, but race is still with us today, and it's going to be a while before it's totally eradicated. That's why I still have issues with this term *post-racial* society, which is not the case at all.



Spike Lee

Has there ever been a topic that you wanted to make into a movie but did not or could not because of certain cultural or financial constraints?

Marie Fatil, MIAMI

The constraint has been money. It's always money. I wanted to do a biopic on Jackie Robinson. I want to do a biopic on Joe Louis and Max Schmeling. I want to do a biopic on James Brown. If Hollywood studios don't think that they're going to make money on it, they're not going to give you the money. Simple as that.

Are there any other African-American figures whose story you want to make into a movie?

*Taffany McElvaine
CHANDLER, ARIZ.*

I would love to do one on Harriet Tubman. I think maybe one day a slave epic. Apart from *Roots*, which was on television, I don't think there's been a serious film dealing with slavery in this country. It would need alternative means of finance. It's not something that you could get made through the traditional Hollywood system.

Are you conscious of the doors you've opened for many African-American actors, and do you plan to continue to cast new faces in upcoming projects?

*Elise Woodson
LOS ANGELES*

Oh, yeah. What she's talking about didn't happen by accident. That was the plan, to give young, talented people—

and not just black—a chance. And not just in front of the camera but behind the camera too. It's all part of a plan.

What has been your most challenging film to make?

Nachi Kamatkar

PITTSBURGH, PA.

Here goes two. The first one: *She's Gotta Have It*. The next one would be *Malcolm X*; the pressure was on Denzel [Washington, who played the title character] and me to do that. We didn't have a lot of money to do it.

How important to you are the critics' reviews of your films? Do you still look at them or care?

Jeffrey N. Golub, SEATTLE

There are some very well educated critics in cinema, people who can write who understand cinema. Unfortunately, those people are the minority. So there are reviews that I do read. No one I want to name right now.

Are there any up-and-coming African filmmakers you admire?

Cathy Collins, LOUISVILLE, KY. There's this new film coming out called *Black Dynamite*, which is a spoof of the black exploitation films. It's by a young African American, Scott Sanders. Everybody should look out for this film. It's hilarious. It'll come out in the fall.

Do you think the Knicks are going to win a championship anytime soon?

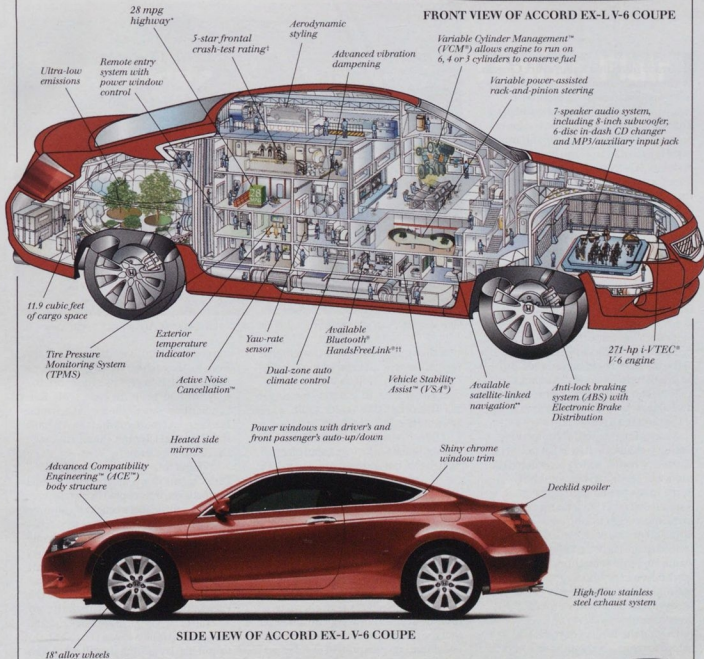
Kathleen Jill, BROOKLYN, N.Y. If we get LeBron [James] after next season, we're definitely going to get a ring. Within two or three years, the Knicks are going to be world champions. ■

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Postcard: Kabul. Since the Taliban left power, Afghans have developed a new national obsession: bodybuilding. Afghanistan's real strongmen flex their muscles

BY JASON MOTLAGH

IT'S JUST PAST 9 A.M., AND PEOPLE ARE already filing into Kabul's Park Cinema.

The venue's usual fare—shoot-'em-up Bollywood matinees—is popular, but today the films are being pre-empted by a different kind of firepower: the home-grown muscle that makes up the annual Mr. Afghanistan pageant. Backstage, bodybuilders from all over the country crank out push-ups and curl dumbbells for a last-second pump as trainers slap them down with oil and bark encouragement. Armed guards scan the main room for troublemakers as VIPs take their seats in the front row. Behind them, a standing-room-only crowd of some 1,500 people pulses to the reggaeton hit "Gasolina."

Since the fall of the Taliban, bodybuilding has become a national obsession. The Afghan National Bodybuilding Federation has more than 1,000 affiliated gymnasiums across the country, from Kabul to the insurgent-held hinterlands. Billboards of musclebound champions and a shirtless Arnold Schwarzenegger from his *Pumping Iron* days dot the drab streets of the capital, all smiles and biceps.

Much of the success of competitive flexing is thanks to Bawar Khan Hotak, a former wrestler widely considered the godfather of Afghan bodybuilding. In the 1990s, he and his friends fashioned derelict Soviet tank parts into weight machines, filling oil drums with concrete to make barbells. "We wanted to build something for children here who had nothing to feel good about," he says. "And of course, we loved to exercise ourselves."

During the Taliban days, Hotak helped arrange a bodybuilding competition at Ghazi Stadium, then primarily a site for public executions. While he and other competitors were forced to cover their skimpy shorts by decree of the Taliban, spectators were so impressed with Hotak's showmanship that some threw coins as a sign of their approval—a ges-



Man of steel Shuqrollah Shakili flexes for the judges at Kabul's Mr. Afghanistan competition

ture that angered the ultra-conservative regime, he says, and landed him briefly in jail. After the Taliban fled, Hotak opened Gold's Gym in Kabul, naming it after the original in Venice, Calif., where Schwarzenegger—his hero—trained.

Many have since followed Hotak's lead. Zubair Mohsin, a former Kabul champion, has about 400 regulars who pay \$5 a month to work out at his neighborhood gym, Ariana Power. The place stays packed well past 9 p.m. and is equipped with a smoke-belching generator to cope with frequent blackouts. Most of the gymgoers are teenagers who talk earnestly about

lifting weights as an alternative to doing drugs. They complain, however, that the financial demands of competitive bodybuilding—for protein powder, personal trainers and steroids, which trainers admit are readily available—are too high.

Afghanistan has even started exporting its talent: Afghan bodybuilders have competed in Singapore, Bahrain and South Korea and won several medals this April at the South Asian bodybuilding

championships in Varanasi, India. Even so, the cash-strapped government has done little to promote the sport. In May, the budget for the annual Mr. Kabul competition was slashed amid a dispute between bodybuilders and the Afghanistan National Olympic Committee over the use of scarce funds.

None of this stops the crowd at the Park Cinema from enjoying the five-hour competition, interrupted by two power outages, scuffles between rival entourages and a second-place contestant who refuses to leave the stage until the judges change their mind. (They don't.) In the end, they have their Mr. Afghanistan: Shuqrollah Shakili, a mechanic from Musa Qala, a desert outpost in Helmand province that was controlled by the Taliban until 2007. The top prize—a polyester tracksuit and a gold plastic trophy—won't enable Shakili to quit his day job. But he will get to compete in August's Asian championships in Iran, and his billboard appeal could attract sponsors. "Unfortunately, this is Afghanistan," says Mohsin. "No one can do this for money because there isn't any. But there's a lot of pride at stake, and everyone knows your name if you do well."





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Inbox



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WHILE I THINK TWITTER IS QUITE ingenious—and I use it daily—I'd rather it didn't exist [June 15]. I like getting updates from people I admire, but I always think about them tweeting while they're supposed to be doing other things, and I wonder how the quality of their work will suffer because they're not entirely focused on it.

Alyssa Green, DINWIDDIE, VA.

THE OVERBLOWN COVERAGE OF TWITTER in the media has grown tiresome. Steven Johnson reports that Twitter had 17.1 million visitors internationally in April, but with the U.S. population at more than 300 million, the percentage of users that are American is pretty small. Furthermore, according to Nielsen, 60% of users drop out after a month. "Once just a fad"? Sounds like it's still a relatively small and concentrated fad. Members of the media never grasp that they are not representative of the country as a whole.

Barb Neff, SANTA MONICA, CALIF.

JOHNSON NOTED THAT AT THE EDUCATION conference he attended, people were typing and reading tweets. This means that they were not engaged in the discussion at the table and that this new communication tool was actually distracting from rather than enhancing the discussions at the forum. It can easily be argued that the ideas lost from the discussion at hand far out-

weighed the brief ones gained via Twitter. Aside from being a new venue to reinforce our sadly shortened attention spans, Twitter is a narcissist's dream of one-way communication. I, for one, will never care what Shaq is doing or thinking about anything. I don't care what anyone had for breakfast. I don't care what I had for breakfast.

Tom Granger, WILMINGTON, DEL.

I PREDICT THAT THE TWITTERIFICATION of our society is going to lead to an exponential increase in early-onset Alzheimer's. We're increasing the rate of input to our brains and decreasing the time for processing information, and our brains are going to revolt. That, in turn, will lead to the next big industry: de-twitterification rooms where you can sit alone and unconnected, with nothing but a giant aquarium and a beanbag.

Marty Decker, BEND, ORE.

Health Care and the Hill

IN HER ARTICLE ON HEALTH-CARE REFORM, Karen Tumulty states the health industry needs a "cultural and economic revolution" [June 15]. I cannot agree more. But in her discussion of the five big health-care dilemmas, she omitted two key financial advantages of a single-payer system: dramatic reduction in administrative costs and elimination of profit. A single-payer system would immediately make hundreds of billions of dollars available to

CAN I PLAY TOO?

TIME'S LIST OF THE 14 PLAYERS WHO will decide the fate of our health-care system was telling [June 15]. Missing from them—lawmakers, lobbyists for hospitals and insurance companies, union leaders and even Wal-Mart—is a key group: the people who dedicate their lives to studying illness, go deep into debt for the privilege of caring for patients and work long hours to fix and cure what ails Americans—just so they can spend more time wrestling with the red tape of the insurance companies and dodging the trial lawyers. Your list left out the doctors—which is exactly how I've felt for my entire 14 years of practice.

Michael A. Kellams, CARMEL, IND.

purchase health care and give everyone access without increasing taxes or costs to employers. Hospitals, physicians and other providers could be paid more appropriately, and the benefits package could be expanded. Such a system would also reduce providers' costs by decreasing their administrative burden. Why is a single-payer system being ignored by Congress?

David Heard, M.D., SEATTLE

RE "THE 5 BIG HEALTH-CARE DILEMMAS": The 800-pound gorilla in the room is medical-malpractice lawsuits. If those were brought under control, health-care costs would drop dramatically. Physicians would have no reason to practice "lawsuit prevention." But it won't happen. Most people in our government are lawyers.

Robert K. Wismer, MILLERSVILLE, PA.

'A million people following Ashton Kutcher further illustrates the dumbing down of America. If this is the future, I want no part!'

Neil Haller, LABADIE, MO.



Tweet heat Many readers were skeptical of the idea that the fast-growing Twitter—and popular tweeters like Kutcher—will have a lasting influence

ACCORDING TO A RECENT REPORT, 131 million people would take the deal of a public health-care plan, including two-thirds of those who now have private insurance. What does that say about the wishes of the American people? Yet the worry seems all about driving the private health-insurance industry out of business. There are at least two bills now in Congress that would provide a universal public plan—including how to pay for it—and help health-insurance workers displaced by it. But it looks as though we once again may wind up

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with what the lobbyists for Big Pharma and insurance want us to have, thereby guaranteeing their continued profits and campaign donations. It is discouraging to see business prevailing as usual while Americans wait to have a system that's at least as good as those of other industrialized nations.

Jean Quinlan, STAUNTON, VA.

Food, Direct

THOUGH I DO NOT EAT MUCH BEEF, I LOVE Kate Pickert's article about cow-pooling [June 15]. I grew up on a farm in Arkansas where my sister and I stood on the fence and waved goodbye as the cows were loaded onto the truck to be taken to market, and where my dad once made me and my friends get up at 6 a.m. after a sleepover and dig potatoes. My kids have been growing up in the suburbs, not knowing where food comes from. Now we are growing vegetables in the backyard, and they are helping debone the chicken, even if it seems "gross" at first. I think we will treat our environment better when we have a closer connection to where our food comes from.

Sara Barton, ROCHESTER HILLS, MICH.

I FIND IT INTERESTING TO READ HOW, because of new economic necessity, many people are acquiring food and home-keeping practices that rural folk have followed for years. Growing produce, buying half of a steer and raising chickens or bees are being described in such terms, one would think the wheel had been reinvented. My family has kept two freezers for years: one for meat and one for the fruits and vegetables we raise. This has enabled us to survive raising four children in a rural economy. I am finally able to tell my children that they never realized their old parents were trendsetters all along!

Patty Connolly, CORVALLIS, MONT.

How to Talk to Iran

THE PICTURE OF U.S. ENVOY DENNIS ROSS as presented in "The Final Countdown" is frightening [June 15]. Ross should not have been placed in charge of dealings with Iran. His close connection with the largely anti-Iran organization American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) is well known. Despite Obama's seeming change in course on Iran, Ross continues to endanger the U.S. and the

Middle East by pursuing the hostile neo-conservative agenda on Iran active in the Bush Administration.

William Beeman, MINNEAPOLIS

YOU SAY DENNIS ROSS IS NOT NAIVE. I BELIEVE he is if he thinks Iranians can be persuaded to switch focus to the economy—and question why their regime is not spinning money and enriching the country—while their centrifuges are "spinning day and night" enriching uranium. If the North Koreans, who are far poorer, can live with this set of priorities out of a sense of national pride, why can't the Iranians?

Kangayam Rangaswamy, WAUNAKEE, WIS.

The At-Times-Unfriendly Skies

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ARTICLE ABOUT Flight 447 and the history of aviation, which, as a 17-year-old technology fan, I found remarkable [June 15]. It opened my eyes to everything I take advantage of in this world filled with gadgets that can do anything and with practically immediate travel all over the globe. Maybe America should take a lesson from less technologically advanced nations, whose citizens, instead of being in sync with their computers and cell phones, are probably in sync with their families, their lives and

their surroundings. All the things we "need" are just pulling us away from what is really important in this world. I hope more people can learn to be thankful for what they have.

Rebecca Edwards, ORANGE PARK, FLA.

I FOUND MICHAEL ELLIOTT'S HOMAGE TO the aviation industry—in an article on the tragic accident of Air France Flight 447—disrespectful.

Paulo Ribeiro, AUSTIN, TEXAS

In Defense of Sotomayor

RE JOE KLEIN'S "HOT BUTTONS" [JUNE 15]: How long must we endure this controversy over Judge Sonia Sotomayor's decision in the *Ricci v. DeStefano* case before the media learn to ask the right question? Sotomayor, the junior judge on a three-judge panel, did not endorse New Haven's decision to discard the promotion test for a group of firefighters when not enough minority firefighters passed the test. She merely declined to step into the matter—as an activist jurist might have done—to tell New Haven that discarding the test was the wrong thing to do. Those are different actions. If anything, the *Ricci* case proves that Sotomayor is not an activist jurist.

Dale Whiting, CHANDLER, ARIZ.

'Because of his strong ties to Israel, Dennis Ross is ill suited to be the U.S.'s chief negotiator with Iran.'

Ernst Rodin, SANDY, UTAH



Reaching out to Iran Some readers questioned how open-minded the veteran U.S. diplomat will be



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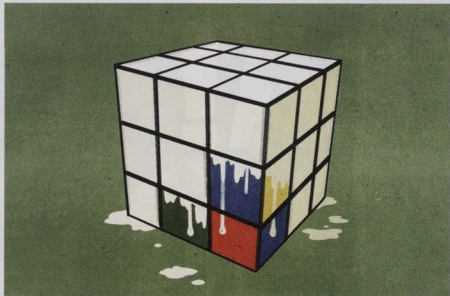
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BOOKS

K.I.S.S. and Sell. In a complex world, simplicity may be the way to persuade someone to buy a camera—or your idea

BY BARBARA KIVIAT



In Pursuit of Elegance
By Matthew E. May
Broadway Books;
216 pages

"LESS IS MORE," THE PHRASE is cliché—but behind the trite, there's truth. In his book *In Pursuit of Elegance*, business consultant Matthew May details why we engage more intimately with ideas and objects that are simpler and then shows how organizations—from HR departments to police forces—put that concept to use.

May's approach is to start with the science. An examination of curiosity, for example, begins in 1890 with psychologist William James, winds through research conducted in the 1950s and '90s and then wraps up with a modern-day application: selling more digital cameras. Three ads for the new Sony QV are set in front of consumers. The first gives details galore, the second simply mentions that the QV is a camera, and the third reveals nothing more than that a new Sony product is on its way. The ad that generates twice as much interest as the other two: the middle one. Specifics draw people in, but give too many and they

turn their attention elsewhere.

May also digs into how better public policy might be forged from less—not more—government action. Consider the city of Drachten in the Netherlands. The busiest intersection is a simple roundabout, with no stoplights, signs or even white lines on the pavement. The thing Dutch traffic engineers understood: signs and lights give people a mental out from paying attention to what's going on around them. Force drivers to take more responsibility for deciding who goes in front of whom and when, and the number of accidents drops.

That sort of thinking, though, is counterintuitive. Not adding a new feature to a product, not creating a new rule to elicit a desired behavior—these notions rub against the Western sensibility. "A bias for action naturally leads us to want to do something," writes May. Which often leads us away from simplicity. Less may be more, but that doesn't mean it's easy. ■



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Briefing

THE WORLD SPOTLIGHT VERBATIM HISTORY

POP CHART MILESTONES



The Moment

6/15/09: Tehran

IT IS EITHER SUBLIME OR RIDICULOUS that one of the most important tools available to Iranians protesting the June 12 presidential election is Twitter. A service that broadcasts short (140 characters or less) missives, or tweets, over the Web or via text message, Twitter is basically a toy for flirting and telling people what your cat is doing. But in one of the Internet's great *Velveteen Rabbit* moments, the toy has become real.

The day after the election,

when protests against President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad began escalating and the Iranian government moved to suppress dissent, the Twitterverse exploded with tweets in both English and Farsi. While the front pages of Iranian newspapers were full of blank space where censors had whited out news stories, Twitter was delivering information from street level in real time: *Woman says ppl knocking on her door 2 AM saying they were intelligence agents, took her daughter*

and we hear 1 dead in shiraz, live fire used in other cities RT.

Why would the citizens of a Middle Eastern nation in political convulsions turn to Twitter? It's free, highly mobile and very quick. It's easy for the average person to use and

Fast, free, chaotic, Twitter becomes the medium of Iran's movement

hard for any central authority to control. And it's loud: tweets are public and readable on many different devices.

Twitter's strengths are also its weaknesses. The vast body of information about Iran circulating on Twitter is chaotic,

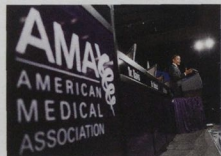
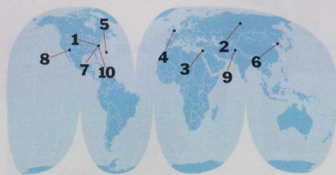
subjective and totally unverifiable. But here's a measure of its new role in international politics: engineers delayed a planned network upgrade that would have taken the system down at the height of the protests after being asked to wait by the U.S. State Department.

It's tempting to look at Twitter and see a magic antidictator bullet, a medium so anarchic and distributed that it can't be stopped. It's not impervious; the Iranian government has already moved to limit access. But Twitter has done its work. The protesters know they aren't alone, and Ahmadinejad now faces judgment not only in Iran but also in the court of world opinion.

—BY LEV GROSSMAN

The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



President Obama delivers his June 15 speech to the American Medical Association

1 | Washington

Health-Care Battle Heats Up

With details of the much heralded health-care overhaul beginning to trickle through the capital, interest groups are gearing up for a fight. President Obama's June 13 proposal to cut \$313 billion in Medicare and Medicaid spending over 10 years ruffled hospitals, and doctors bristled because of his refusal to endorse caps on malpractice claims in a speech to the American Medical Association two days later. Some physicians also oppose a public-health-insurance option, a centerpiece of Obama's plan. Anticipated draft legislation has been delayed while Capitol Hill continues to haggle over how to slash costs and extend coverage to the 48 million Americans without health insurance. Obama has exhorted lawmakers to produce a bill for him to sign by October.

2 | Russia

Planning for A Post-U.S. World

Russian President Dmitri Medvedev hosted the first summit of the world's largest emerging economies to discuss efforts to reduce their reliance on the U.S. The so-called BRIC states—Brazil, Russia, India and China—are forecast to become four of the six biggest economies in the world by 2050. The group, which holds some 40% of the world's gold and hard-currency reserves, has announced plans to shift some out of U.S. dollars. "There can be no successful global currency system," said Medvedev, "if the financial instruments used are denominated in only one currency."



Palestinians watch Netanyahu's televised keynote speech endorsing their statehood

3 | Tel Aviv

Netanyahu's Change of Heart

For the first time since assuming office in April, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu endorsed the prospect of establishing a demilitarized Palestinian state. Netanyahu's departure from his hawkish stance against statehood was welcomed as a "positive movement" by President Obama, who has pressured Israel to resume peace efforts. But senior Palestinian officials vehemently rejected Netanyahu's statements; negotiator Saeb Erekat said the Prime Minister's intransigence on crucial sticking points—like his insistence on demilitarization and refusal to consider the dismantling of Israeli settlements in the West Bank—"closed the door to permanent-status negotiations."

4 | London

Reassessing the Road to War

British Prime Minister Gordon Brown authorized a long-awaited inquiry into Britain's role in the deeply unpopular war in Iraq that has claimed the lives of 179 British soldiers. But news that the inquiry would be closed to the public and that its results would not come out until after the next election outraged critics and opposition parties. Foreign Secretary David Miliband dismissed claims of "an Establishment stitch-up," saying, "If you are looking for a great conspiracy, you are not going to find it."

5 | Bermuda

Free at Last

Four former Guantanamo Bay detainees have been released in Bermuda as the U.S. continues its push to shut down the facility by 2010. Others have been transferred to Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Chad, while Italy and the U.K. say they will take former prisoners. More than 500 detainees have been sent home in recent years; 50 have been cleared and are ready to be released, and 220 others await trial.

Recently cleared detainees find new homes:

BERMUDA



CHAD FRANCE



IRAQ ITALY



PALAU



SAUDI ARABIA U.K.



Accepted
Pledged
Temporarily relocated

Belgium, Ireland, Portugal and Spain have also said that they may be willing to take in former detainees

Numbers:

4

 MILLION

Average weekly increase in the number of people who go hungry because of rising food prices, according to the World Food Program

19

Number of cats found killed in Miami since May; police arrested a local teen on animal-cruelty charges



6 | Pyongyang

TAKING THE GLOVES OFF In a meeting with South Korean President Lee Myung Bak, President Obama pledged to “break the pattern” of rewarding North Korea with aid only to have the country later renege on its promises to halt nuclear proliferation. On June 15, thousands of North Koreans gathered in Pyongyang for a demonstration against U.S.-led sanctions, which include the inspection of North Korean ships in an effort to block the transport of nuclear materials. The inspections are still voluntary, and most experts believe that North Korean vessels most likely would not agree to them. Pyongyang has threatened a “thousandfold” military retaliation if it is provoked.

7 | Washington

Benefits for Gay Partners

Extending an olive branch to critics who say he has failed to follow through on campaign promises, President Obama signed a memo on June 17 granting long-term-care and other benefits to the same-sex partners of federal employees. The White House most recently drew criticism from gay-rights advocates for supporting the Defense of Marriage Act, which opposes same-sex marriage.

8 | Arizona

FDA Crackdown

The Food and Drug Administration warned consumers to stop using three Zicam cold and allergy products, after receiving more than 130 complaints that the popular sprays and swabs can permanently damage or destroy users’ sense of smell. The announcement highlights the FDA’s attempt to regulate drug companies more aggressively and underscores the agency’s lack of power—it cannot order product recalls and does not consistently monitor “homeopathic” remedies like Zicam. Matrixx Initiatives, the product’s manufacturer, refused to stop selling the medications and called the alert “unwarranted.” In 2006 the company, based in Scottsdale, Ariz., paid \$12 million to settle 340 lawsuits regarding Zicam’s side effects.

9 | Islamabad

Taliban Manhunt

Pakistan’s security forces are stepping up their offensive against the nation’s Taliban leader, Baitullah Mehsud, and his estimated 20,000 fighters. The “full-fledged” escalation planned in South Waziristan, a Mehsud stronghold, reflects the government’s heightened resolve to confront Pakistan’s growing insurgency. But analysts warn that assaults in the mountainous region will be difficult to carry out and may prompt bloody reprisals elsewhere.

10 | Washington

Getting Warmer

The Obama Administration’s first climate-change survey found “unequivocal” evidence of man-made global warming with potentially dire consequences in the U.S. Temperatures and sea levels are rising, rainstorms are strengthening, and snow cover is shrinking, according to the report by a consortium of federal agencies and research groups. One potential casualty: maple-syrup production, which may be displaced from New England to Canada as temperatures rise. The sobering report is sure to draw notice on Capitol Hill, where lawmakers are debating a landmark “cap and trade” emissions proposal.



The average temperature in the U.S. has risen 2°F over the past 50 years. If carbon emissions are not reduced, it may climb as much as 11° more by 2090



Precipitation in the U.S. has increased an average of 5% in the past 50 years. Models show Northern areas getting wetter, while the South and West grow drier



Sea levels have risen as much as 8 in. (20 cm) over the past century and may continue climbing, which could cause coastal erosion and harmful flooding

(RECESSION



WATCH)

After posting a record \$611.9 million loss in May, British Airways is asking its **40,000 employees to volunteer for one to four weeks of unpaid work**. Chief executive Willie Walsh—who has agreed to go without a salary in July—called the request part of a “fight for survival.” It could be worse. At least BA’s pilots aren’t being asked to handle luggage, as those of Dutch airline KLM were in early June.

\$55 MILLION

Amount the State Department overpaid Xe, formerly known as Blackwater Worldwide, for private security in Iraq, according to a government audit

78%

Percentage of online households in the U.S. that use Facebook, according to a recent report

Spotlight:

Amanda Knox



ONE VICTIM; HOW MANY KILLERS?

1 Meredith Kercher, 21, was killed Nov. 1, 2007 **2 Raffaele Sollecito** began dating Knox two weeks before the murder **3 Rudy Guede** admitted to having sex with Kercher and was convicted of murder **4 Patrick Lumumba, named in Knox's confession,** had an airtight alibi

AMANDA KNOX HAS FINALLY SPOKEN. Ever since the 21-year-old American student was arrested in Italy in late 2007 and charged with the grisly murder of her British roommate Meredith Kercher, tabloids on both sides of the Atlantic have bubbled with scandal and speculation. Was she, as Italian and British reports suggest, a promiscuous party girl who lived like a slob and took strange men back to the house? Did she, as Italian prosecutors allege, cut Kercher's throat after she refused to take part in group sex with Knox; Knox's boyfriend at the time, Raffaele Sollecito; and Rudy Guede, an Ivorian now serving a 30-year prison sentence for the murder? Or was Knox, as friends and family in Seattle insist, a hardworking honors student railroaded by incompetent and overzealous police work? Testifying on June 12 for the first time, Knox fought back in her own words, claiming that she had been bullied into making a false confession, accusing Italian police of abusing her and insisting she was sleeping at Sollecito's at the time of the attack.

Observers at the trial in the central Italian hill town of Perugia say there's plenty left for Knox to defend herself against. Forensic evidence includes bloody prints that allegedly match Sollecito's and Knox's feet and a knife found in Sollecito's apartment with the victim's

Kercher's body was found in the cottage she shared in Italy with Knox and two students



DNA on it. The two have given conflicting accounts of their whereabouts, and there is evidence that the murder scene was tampered with before police arrived. Then there's the confession, in which Knox said she was at the house during the killing but blamed her boss, bar owner Patrick Lumumba (who was later cleared). The document was signed without a lawyer present and is inadmissible, but prosecutors produced another note in which, they say, Knox reaffirmed her declaration.

Her many supporters in the U.S. say the case is far from cut and dried. Family lawyers call the forensics collection deeply flawed, the DNA evidence laughably slim. One theory says the entire trial is the fantasy of prosecutor Giuliano Mignini, who is facing misconduct charges in a separate case. He has never provided a convincing motive or solid evidence to support the group-sex theory. In her two days on the stand, Knox poked holes in the prosecution's legitimacy, noting that she cooperated as a witness while the police never told her she was a suspect. A lawyer for Kercher's family told TIME the testimony was a "very good job."

Still, Knox's words may yet work against her. Her rosy depiction of the roommates' relationship contradicted testimony from Kercher's friends that the two didn't get along. Speculating on Kercher's slow death—pathologists say she choked on her own blood—Knox called it "yucky, disgusting" and mimicked sounds of choking in a manner that seemed to startle jurors. When asked if she ever thought about the victim, Knox was less than sympathetic. "In the end, I knew her for a month," she said. "And first of all, I'm trying to get on with my life." —BY NINA BURLEIGH, WITH REPORTING BY GIULIA ALAGNA/PERUGIA AND TIFFANY SHARPLES/SEATTLE

KNOX: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/REUTERS; KERCHER: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/REUTERS; SOLLECITO: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/REUTERS; GUEDE: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/REUTERS; COTTAGE: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/REUTERS



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Verbatim

'Everyone guessed wrong.'

JOE BIDEN, Vice President, acknowledging that the Administration's \$787 billion economic-stimulus plan has failed to reduce the unemployment rate

'We want our votes to be counted because we want reforms, we want kindness, we want friendship with the world.'

ALI REZA, one of hundreds of thousands of Iranians who gathered in Tehran to protest the country's June 12 election result

'I use whatever tools I have to be able to get back at these people.'

LUIS DOMINGUEZ, a Cuban exile who masqueraded as a woman online to dupe Fidel Castro's son into an Internet relationship

'No one knows where the line is, but we just keep pushing.'

WAN YANHAI, a gay-rights advocate in China, after the government canceled several events planned for Shanghai's first gay pride festival

'I make up stories.'

KHALID SHEIKH MOHAMMED, mastermind of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, saying he lied when he claimed to know Osama bin Laden's whereabouts while being waterboarded during a CIA interrogation

'If there is no justice from the authorities, there will be vengeance from the people.'

ROBERTO ZAVALA, whose child was one of 46 to die in a June 5 fire at a Mexican day care, blasting local officials for failing to punish anyone for the tragedy

'If there was ever anything in my life that I could take back, this would be it.'

JOHN ENSIGN, U.S. Senator from Nevada, apologizing for having an extramarital affair with an aide



Back & Forth:

Terrorism

'It's almost as if he's wishing that this country would be attacked again in order to make his point.'



CIA Director **LEON PANETTA**, on former Vice President Dick Cheney's persistent criticism of the Obama Administration's approach to combating terrorism. Panetta dubbed Cheney's approach "gallows politics"

'I hope my old friend Leon was misquoted.'



CHENEY, who also said "the important thing is whether the Obama Administration will continue the policies that have kept us safe for the last eight years"

Religion

'Them Jews ain't going to let him talk to me.'



THE REV. JEREMIAH WRIGHT, President Barack Obama's former pastor, referring to members of the Administration who he claims have restricted his access to Obama since the President took office

'I apologize for the way I framed my comments. I misspoke, and I sincerely meant no harm or ill will to the American Jewish community or the Obama Administration.'

WRIGHT, saying he was "disturbed and deeply saddened" that his remarks sparked controversy. The White House declined to comment

LEXICON

Funemployed n.—

People who have found they enjoy being out of work

USAGE: "The funemployed write blogs, issue regular updates on social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter and devote entire websites to helpful advice and encouragement on how to make the most of the U.S. government's \$475 weekly dole check."

—Times of London, June 14, 2009

A Brief History Of:

Cigarette Advertising

FOR PRACTICALLY AS LONG AS THE U.S. HAS EXISTED, Americans have been selling tobacco. But a pack of new industry regulations passed by Congress could put a drag on cigarette promotion, a \$13 billion-a-year business. The sweeping bill would, among other things, regulate the location of advertisements, restrict some ads to black-and-white and ban labels such as *MILD* and *LOW TAR*.

The first print ad for tobacco is believed to date from 1789, when what is now the Lorillard Tobacco Co. advertised its snuff in a New York City newspaper. In the late 19th century, cigarette packs began to include trading cards featuring celebrities and athletes. Soldiers in World Wars I and II received free or subsidized cigarettes, ensuring a market of millions after the GIs returned home. In the 1940s and '50s, manufacturers penned catchy slogans ("Winston tastes good like a cigarette should") and backed popular television shows: NBC's pioneering *Camel News Caravan* later evolved into the network's flagship *Nightly News*. Pitchmen included doctors, dentists and sports stars like Mickey Mantle.

The golden age of tobacco advertising began to dim in the 1960s, as smoking's health risks became clear. Warning labels were ordered on cigarette packs, and television and radio cigarette ads were banned in 1971. Undeterred, tobacco companies continued their campaigns with print and billboard ads, sports sponsorships and merchandise promotions like Camel Cash.

Most tobacco companies opposed the new bill, which would let the Food and Drug Administration regulate tobacco for the first time. Sadly for them, the measure has the support of one influential nicotine addict who has vowed to quit: President Obama. —BY SCOTT OLSTAD AND RANDY JAMES

Consumers are hooked An ad from 1939. New tobacco legislation includes tight restrictions on advertising

YOU'VE COME A LONG WAY

1909 The American Tobacco Co. includes small baseball cards with cigarette packs. Pittsburgh Pirate **Honus Wagner's** card will become the most valuable ever, fetching \$2.8 million at a 2007 auction

1965 Congress requires packs to carry health-warning labels. The familiar surgeon general's warning is added in 1970

1991 A study shows that nearly as many 6-year-olds recognize **Joe Camel** as know Mickey Mouse. The cartoon pitchman is retired in 1997

1992 Wayne McLaren, an actor who portrayed the Marlboro Man, dies of lung cancer at 51

THE SKIMMER



Global Status Report On Road Safety: Time for Action

By the World Health Organization; 287 pages

AT FIRST GLANCE, THE WHO's first ever report on worldwide road safety reaches a basic conclusion: healthwise, you're better off living in a rich country than in a poor one. Though they're home to less than half the world's registered vehicles, low- and middle-income countries account for more than 90% of traffic fatalities. The report succeeds in spelling out the global impact of those crashes in cold, hard cash. Traffic injuries cost a whopping \$518 billion a year. Poor countries generally spend more money responding to car accidents than they receive in development aid. The WHO offers a series of intuitive fixes for this growing problem: buckle down on speed limits, reduce drunk driving and tighten seat-belt laws. With pedestrians, cyclists and other "vulnerable road users" accounting for 46% of all traffic deaths, the report concludes that more research on road planning and design is needed as well. A scourge as lethal as many contagious diseases, car crashes are just as preventable. There's plenty of work left to be done.

—BY LAURA FITZPATRICK

READ
SKIM
TOSS

have you ever overdosed on wasabi?



Visa Debit is easier than cash and checks.
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VISA

Pop Chart



HOUSE M.D. now the world's most popular TV show. 82 million viewers are asking, "Did you know Hugh Laurie's not really American?"



Boy hit in hand by **METEORITE** traveling at 30,000 m.p.h. survives. Still waiting for superpowers



Woman accidentally throws out mattress stuffed with **\$1 MILLION** in cash



Alaska's **RAT ISLAND** rat-free after 229 years. Manhattan to finally get its title back



ASTRONAUTS to appear in Louis Vuitton ads. NASA demands Takashi Murakami space suits



Venezuela bans **COKE ZERO** for health reasons. Because clearly that's the country's biggest coke problem



Believe it: Ripley's is running out of oddities. Meanwhile, **"WOLF BOY"** to star in dating reality show



SARAH PALIN thanks troops for Letterman apology

SHOCKING

Cinemax-rated **MONA LISA** painting discovered



Grade-school screening of **JONAS BROTHERS** movie *Camp Rock* accidentally shows porno instead. Guess which letter they changed in the title



Don't make a Golden Girl take out her dentures: **CLORIS LEACHMAN** calls Betty White a "slut"



CAPTAIN AMERICA to be resurrected. Tupac still waiting for his moment



MEL GIBSON co-writes "naked, intimate, raw" song on girlfriend's debut album. It's about torturing Jim Caviezel



MTV's new afternoon show integrates Facebook and Twitter. The heat is on, Rick Sanchez

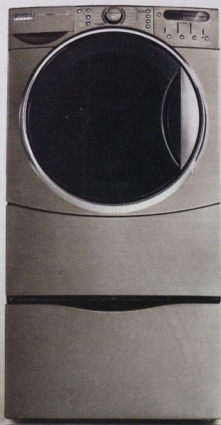


Dementia sets in: **HEFF** says he can't tell his twin girlfriends apart



SUSAN BOYLE is back! Still knows only two songs

SHOCKINGLY PREDICTABLE



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Using 77% less water and 81% less energy than older models, the Kenmore HE5t Steam™ washer saves enough money to pay for a matching dryer. Another reason why more Americans choose Kenmore ENERGY STAR® qualified appliances than any other brand.

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Kenmore Elite HE5t Steam™ washer compared to a conventional washer manufactured before 2004, using the normal cycle, based on \$175 per year total savings, over 11-year life expectancy.

Milestones



Thembi Ngubane

SHE INTRODUCED HERSELF TO the world with something she called her HIV prayer. "Hello, HIV, you trespasser," Thembi would say. "You are in my body. You have to obey the rules. You have to respect me, and if you don't hurt me, I won't hurt you. You mind your business, I'll mind mine."

Thembi, who died June 5 at the age of 24, lived in Khayelitsha, one of the largest shantytowns in South Africa. In a country with one of the highest AIDS rates in the world, the fact that Thembi was HIV positive made her a statistic. What made her special is that she spoke out.

I met Thembi in 2004, when she was 19. I gave her a tape recorder to document her life and her struggle with AIDS. Over the course of a year, Thembi recorded many of her most intimate moments: interviews with her family and friends, late-night dancing with her boyfriend, the sounds of her baby Onwabo and the moment when she told her father she had AIDS.

"Thembi's AIDS Diary" was first broadcast on Na-

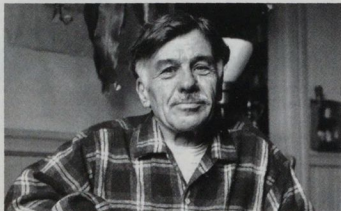
tional Public Radio in 2006. Over the next few years, more than 50 million people in a dozen countries heard her story. "Maybe people need someone they can relate to—someone who is just like them—to spell it out to them," she said. "I felt like I owed it to everyone to just be heard." In South Africa, she became a role model for young people living with HIV. But all that recognition still couldn't protect her.

Thembi thought about death almost every day. Yet she was the most alive person I've ever met. She sometimes asked me why I chose to do an audio diary about her life. But I feel like she chose me.

—BY JOE RICHMAN



Richman is the founder of Radio Diaries, which airs on NPR's All Things Considered



Harold Norse

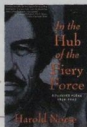
HIS LIFE WAS ABOUT BEING overlooked. Harold, who died June 8 at 92, was a brilliant poet in an era in which you were supposed to veil your marital problems or homosexual angst in 10 layers of metaphor. But in poem after poem, Harold used his tremendous pain—he was an illegitimate child who stood 5 ft. 2 in. and was openly

gay—and, in a language that was accessible to anybody in America, made you feel very powerful things.

Harold's poems were chiseled. William Carlos Williams, who was pretty much a god of American poetry, called him the "best poet of [his] genera-

tion." In Harold's most famous poem, "I Am in the Hub of the Fiery Force," he flashes back and forth between three or four rhythms like a virtuoso. He was writing about the agonies of being a gay man and an outcast in the U.S. before Allen Ginsberg. The Beats looked up to him. It was a tragedy that Harold never got the recognition that he should have.

But it wasn't in his nature to promote his work. Harold just loved to talk to people. There was a warmth about him. Put him in a café with a cappuccino and he could talk for hours, telling stories of people like Jack Kerouac and James Baldwin. Who wouldn't want to listen? —BY GERALD NICOSIA, as told to TIME



Nicosia is the author of Memory Babe, a Jack Kerouac biography

DIED When he won his record-breaking 13th Division I title in men's swimming, Auburn University coach **Richard Quick, 66**, was in the final stages of his



battle with brain cancer. In a career that spanned four decades, Quick also coached six U.S. Olympic teams.

■ **Roger Terry, 87**, was Jackie Robinson's roommate at UCLA and a member of the Tuskegee Army, the group of elite black pilots who served during World War II. After the unit tried to enter an all-white pilots' club in 1945, Terry was convicted of "jostling" an officer—the only airman to be punished in the episode. He was pardoned in 1995.

■ In 1958, **James Calvert, 88**, served as commander of the U.S.S. Skate, a 265-ft-long nuclear-powered submarine. The

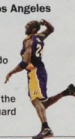


vessel became the first to surface at the North Pole, a feat that made front-page news amid the tensions of the Cold War.

■ In his 80 years as a jazz musician, **Huey Long, 105**, played the banjo and guitar. Once primarily a studio musician, he later spent time touring with the Ink Spots, a popular quartet, and performing with stars like Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie and Sarah Vaughan.

WON The **Pittsburgh Penguins** wrested the NHL's Stanley Cup from the defending champion Detroit Red Wings in seven games.

On June 14 the **Los Angeles Lakers** captured their 15th NBA championship, beating the Orlando Magic four games to one. It was the fourth title for the Lakers' All-Star guard Kobe Bryant.



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Geithner Q&A. The Treasury Secretary on the economy, consumers and the new rules of the road



EARLIER THIS WEEK, TREASURY SECRETARY TIM GEITHNER sat down with *TIME* managing editor Rick Stengel at an economic summit hosted by Time Warner in New York City to discuss the outlook for the economy and President Obama's overhaul of the financial regulatory system. Later, the Secretary answered additional questions about the new financial rules and regulations. Some excerpts:

How does this plan attack the causes of the crisis, and would it have prevented the crisis had it been in place?

A major problem that led to the crisis was that financial institutions—especially the largest, most complex and important ones—weren't held to a high enough standard. In boom times, that problem wasn't visible, but those firms turned out not to have the capital and liquidity cushions they needed in times of true stress. Our plan fixes that too. There are a whole range of areas—from consumer protection to the establishment of a coordinating council of regulators—where our plan puts in place measures that would have made it more unlikely for things to get as far out of hand as they did in this recent crisis. And we do it in

a way that will allow us to get the upside of market-driven innovation while protecting against the downside risk of market excesses.

What is your response to those who say the plan does not go far enough in protecting consumers?

We would create a single regulatory agency, a Consumer Financial Protection Agency. This agency will have only one mission—to protect consumers—and have the authority and accountability to make sure that consumer-protection regulations are written fairly and enforced vigorously. Consumer protection will have an independent seat at the table in our financial regulatory system. By consolidating accountability in one place, we will reduce gaps in federal

supervision and enforcement, drive greater clarity in the information consumers receive around products they are sold, set higher standards for those who sell those products and promote consistent regulation across the system.

The toxic-assets-buying program: Is that dead? No, not at all.

What you are suggesting is that because the system seems to be getting healthier, the banks think the price for the toxic assets is not high enough.

The key test again for the system is, Are banks able to raise equity? Are investors confident enough in their ability to judge the strength of the banks' balance sheets that they're willing to put equity into a bank? We've seen substantial progress in that area. Now we're still going to put in place these facilities for legacy assets because we think they are good insurance against the risk of a future downturn, and we think they provide some broad help to this process of thawing receding credit markets. If the world gets progressively better, you may see less demand for those facilities.

So the banks are getting healthier; 10 of them have returned the federal money. Why are they not lending at the level we had hoped? Remember, this is a crisis born in part of the fact that households around the world in particular took on too much debt. So debt as a share of our economy rose to extraordinarily high levels, and we're having a recession

that is deeper in part because people are having to go back to living within their means. It means probably that you're going to see a slower recovery than we would normally see.

You were in China recently. How worried are the Chinese about their debt in America?

I think they recognize that their economic fate is very closely tied with the fate of the United States, and that's a healthy recognition.

Here's a direct question about bankers. Do they care about anything other than their own compensation?

That is a very interesting question. I'm not going to answer that question... I think that it is hard to judge... It is hard to judge motive in these things. But, you know, we want there to be risk-taking in our economy. There's a risk that given what we've been through, we're going to have a long period of people taking too little risk, not too much.

What do you want the banking system to look like five years from now? The government has talked about how we want to have more, smaller players. But it seems as if we will end up with a few big elephants. We want a little less drama. One of the great strengths of our system is that we have 8,000 to 9,000 banks, and we have not just these large institutions but a very diverse mix of regional and local community banks across the country, and that made our system in this crisis more resilient. I don't think that we want to end up with a more concentrated system than we have today.

Would you say there is a silver lining in the sense that American consumers have to hunker down and get back to some older values?

I think people are going to be more focused on what they do rather than what they earn. And I think that's a healthy thing. ■

'I think people are going to be more focused on what they do rather than what they earn.'



Extra Money

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A Fun-Free Recovery

What does the economic world look like when the recession ends? Grim and grimmer

THE RECESSION IS NEARING ITS END. AT least, it seems to be. A generally improving trend in the economic data has forecasters saying the downturn will turn into an upturn sometime between early this summer (the optimistic view) and late next winter (the pessimistic one).

But here's my assessment: So what? A recession is defined by the Business Cycle Dating Committee of the National Bureau of Economic Research, the semiofficial arbiter of such matters, as a "significant decline in economic activity spread across the economy." It's certainly better for economic activity to be increasing rather than decreasing, but the focus on whether the economy is in recession or not can miss a lot. "I don't care about what the dating committee says. I'm concerned about longer-term issues," says Yale economist Robert Shiller. "We are in for an extended period of subnormal economic growth." Mohamed El-Erian, chief executive officer of bond-investing giant Pimco, has popularized a catchier if less informative phrase for what we're in for: "the new normal."

Defining the parameters of this new normal is not something that can be done with pinpoint precision. I started paying attention to the news (and subscribing to *TIME*) during another period of economic turmoil, the late 1970s, and soon became convinced that I would never know a world in which gas was affordable, inflation wasn't in double digits and jobs were anything but scarce. Then the 1980s and '90s happened. So there is a danger in extrapolating present conditions to the future—and the U.S.

It's certainly better for economic activity to be increasing rather than decreasing, but the focus on whether the economy is in recession or not can miss a lot

economy has a wonderful penchant for surprising us all to the upside. But here are five areas where it seems reasonable to venture a guess as to what the immediate future will be like:



1. Frugality.

This is an extremely fashionable topic at the moment. Some cultural observers even think

Americans are due for a prolonged shift away from the consumption obsession of the post-World War II era. That strikes me as an iffy bet, but it is clear that the debt-fueled consumer spending binge of the past couple of decades is over. The household debt-to-income percentage more than doubled, from 65% in 1982 to 135% in 2007. That turned out to be way too much for us to handle, and now the leveraging process has gone into reverse. The latest household debt-load reading from the Federal Reserve is 128%, and while nobody knows exactly where the percentage will end up, a lot lower seems like a safe prediction. Which means that for years to come, American households will be spending less than they take in.



2. Bear markets.

The long boom in stock prices from 1982 to 2000 and the shorter one in housing prices from about 1997 to 2006 were fueled by rising debt. Ever easier mortgage terms and falling interest rates provided a brisk tailwind for home prices. In the stock market, higher profits pushed along by bigger consumer and corporate debt loads brought higher stock prices. Start ratcheting the indebtedness down and throw in slower growth, and both of these processes go backward. For the long-term health of the economy, that's good—as we've learned, debt-fueled growth is not indefinitely sustainable. It means, though, that both the stock market and the housing market will be confronting headwinds for years to come.



3. Volatility.

The Great Moderation was a name economists gave to a post-1982 era marked by only two mild recessions and long stretches of uninterrupted growth. That's over, and the transition to whatever comes next will, if history is any guide, be messy. From 1970 to '82, the U.S. economy was hit by four downturns, two of which (1973-75 and 1981-82) until recently competed for the title of "worst since the Great Depression." The current recession has undisputed claim to that title. And while we may be about to climb out of it, don't be surprised if we endure more downturns. Think of a W shape—maybe multiple Ws—not a V.



4. High energy prices.

Saying energy prices would stay high was one of the great forecasting errors of the late 1970s and early '80s—so it's a little scary to predict that they will stay high this time around. But the fact that even the slightest hint of a turnaround in the global economy has sent oil prices skyrocketing from \$35 a barrel to more than \$70 ought to be a sign that the upward price cycle that started a decade ago isn't played out yet. The crucial element may be that the struggling U.S. no longer drives the global demand cycle—China and India do.



5. Higher taxes.

There's just no way to square the cost of current recession-fighting efforts, future Medicare commitments and the various goals of the Obama Administration with the current level of taxation. Taxes are going to have to go up, and raising rates on just the very richest won't be enough. The only alternative is what some call the inflation tax—reducing the relative size of the country's debts by letting prices rise across the board. But that has its costs too. The free-lunch era is over. ■

WORLD

Iran's Awakening

Ahmadinejad's disputed re-election has brought millions into the streets and exposed cracks in the Iranian regime. Here's what it means for Iran and the world



Mass movement Hundreds of thousands of supporters of Mir-Hossein Mousavi gather in Tehran's Azadi Square on June 15 to protest the election result





Rally for Ahmadinejad Supporters of the Iranian President gather in Tehran's Vali Asr Square to celebrate his re-election





Joe

Klein

Ten Days in Tehran. The massive protests have shaken Iran's rulers. But that won't make them any easier to deal with

A FEW DAYS BEFORE THE IRANIAN election, President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad held a big rally at the Mosallah Mosque—said to be the world's largest, if it is ever completed—in central Tehran. It was not very well organized. About 20,000 supporters of the President were inside the building, being entertained by a series of TV stars, athletes and religious singers. Many thousands more swirled outside. Inside, a TV host led the crowd in chanting "Death to Israel." "Squeeze your teeth and yell from the bottom of your heart," he implored. Later, the host said he had once asked Iran's President where he got the energy to travel to all the provinces. "My heart is powered by nuclear fuel," Ahmadinejad replied. The place was hot, and packed, and people were fainting. After several hours, the host announced that the President would not be speaking; he had gotten caught up in the crowds outside the mosque. And so Nahid Siamdoust, *TIME*'s Tehran reporter, and I began a three-hour journey to get back to my hotel, which was only a few miles away.

We walked at first, then found a cab. But central Tehran had become an implacable traffic jam—and a gridlocked political debate. The Ahmadinejad supporters, many on motor scooters, skittered through the lines of automobiles, most of which were decked out with signs supporting the moderate challenger Mir-Hossein Mousavi. There was good-natured banter between the two groups. "Chist, chist, chist," the Ahmadinejad supporters chanted, referring to Mousavi's awkward, constant use of that word—Farsi for "y'know"—during his debate with Ahmadinejad. The Mousavi supporters chanted, "Ahmadi—bye, bye." After about an hour, our cabdriver gave up, and Nahid and I set out on foot.

The streets were getting very crowded now—and there was a giddiness to the scene. It was the sort of crowd that might gather after a football victory. The

Ahmadinejad supporters, dressed in the red, white and green of the Iranian flag, seemed to be enjoying the freedom as much as the more flamboyant Mousavi supporters, who were draped in green. At one point, an Ahmadinejad supporter stuck his head out the window of his car and sang a lullaby, "Mousavi—*lai, lai*," in response to the students chanting "Ahmadi—bye, bye." The students laughed. It was as if someone had opened a door and an entire country had spilled out. It was possible to believe, for a moment, that these genial young people, from both sides, might be creating a new, more open Iran for themselves.

And then, the door slammed shut again.

It has to be assumed that the Iranian presidential election was rigged, but it is impossible to know how heavily the government's thumb rested on the scales. It is entirely possible that Ahmadinejad would have won anyway, but narrowly, perhaps with less than 50% of the vote, setting up a runoff election he might have lost as the other candidates united against him. It is possible that his government, perhaps acting in concert with Supreme Leader Ayatullah Ali Khamenei, decided to take no chances.

But even if the election campaign, in the end, proves meaningless, it provided a rare look at the divisions in Iranian society, and not just between the working-class Ahmadinejad supporters and the wealthier, better-educated backers of Mousavi. It also put the internal rivalries at the highest levels of the Iranian government on public display for the first time, and in the most embarrassing fashion.

The President was, without question, the best politician in the race. His debates against the two reformers, Mousavi and Mehdi Karroubi, were routs. Both challengers were exemplars of the older generation—the generation that made the Islamic revolution in 1979—and both were flummoxed by a candidate who


SHAWN TAYLOR—GLOBE

The rivals Dueling campaign posters show Ahmadinejad, right, and his main challenger, Mousavi, whose momentum crested in the days before the vote



seemed to have been trained by some Iranian equivalent of Karl Rove. They appeared paralyzed by what they considered his coarse impertinence; in American terms, these might have been debates between George Bush the Elder and Newt Gingrich, a gentlemanly establishmentarian against a rude populist brawler. Ahmadinejad was a slick combination of facts and accusations. He spoke directly into the camera. He deployed little charts, as Ross Perot did in the 1990s, to show that things weren't as bad as people thought. His statistics were heavily massaged and challenged by his opponents, but he had muddied his greatest vulnerability—the stagflationary Iranian economy. The real jaw dropper, however, was Ahmadinejad's willingness to attack in the most personal terms. He attacked Mousavi for being supported by former President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, whom he flatly called corrupt (a widespread belief among reformers and conservatives alike); he attacked Mousavi's wife Zahra Rahnavard, a famous artist and activist, for allegedly getting into college without taking the entrance exam; he attacked Karroubi for taking money from a convicted scam artist.

The reformers—and even many of the more prominent conservatives (who call themselves principalists)—considered these attacks outrageous, outside the rules of Iranian politics. “The attacks might have worked with Ahmadinejad's supporters,” said Amir Mohebbian, a prominent principalist thinker who backed Ahmadinejad with some reservations. “But they were not good for the system.” Indeed, Ahmadinejad's toughest debate was with the other principalist candidate, Mohsen Rezaei, a former commander of the Revolutionary Guards, who challenged the President's inflationary tendency to spend money on direct wealth redistribution—all sorts of stipends for the working class and the poor—while neglecting a long-term

investment strategy. Unlike the older reformers, Rezaei refuted the President's arguments effectively. He directly addressed the Iranian people: “You go to the store. You know the price of cheese... The people know what the real story is.”

But much of the cheese-buying public—the working class, the elderly, the women in chadors—seemed to adore Ahmadinejad. One of the favorite slogans of his supporters was “Ahmadinejad is love.” On election day, Nahid and I went to Ahmadinejad's childhood neighborhood, Nazi Abad, and interviewed voters. The lines at the central mosque were every bit as long as they were at the voting stations in sophisticated north Tehran. There was a smattering of Mousavi supporters, but the Ahmadinejad worship was palpable. He was kind to the families of martyrs, one man said, which was true—Ahmadinejad had lavished attention on the veterans of the Iran-Iraq war and given special preferences for university admissions to their children. “He works so hard for us,” an elderly woman in a chador said. “He doesn't sleep at night.” A younger woman said, “He is the one person who really supports our class of people. Everyone has been insulting him, but I believe that the Messiah is supporting him. I saw it in a dream.”

Mousavi, on the other hand, inspired little personal adoration. He was known as a tough and effective manager, and a favorite of Ayatollah Khomeini's during the early years of the Islamic republic—especially during the Iran-Iraq war—when he served as Prime Minister. But he had pretty much disappeared from public view for 20 years, living a quiet life as an artist and architect until he re-emerged as a polite prototype of the north Tehran elite. These were people—like the two former Presidents who backed his campaign, Rafsanjani and Mohammed Khatami—who seemed as concerned with Ahmadinejad's crude populist style as with his crude populist economics. Mousavi's wife inadvertently made plain the mind-set when I asked her about her husband's art and she told me, “Artists exist at the very top of a society. When an artist becomes President, it is a step down. But there's no way out. For the happiness of the people, it is necessary.”

Mousavi seemed less pretentious. On the day before the election, Nahid and I interviewed him in a building he had designed, part of an art school and gallery complex in central Tehran. He seemed

an exceedingly gentle man, soft-spoken to a fault—whisper-spoken, in fact. His most emphatic moment came when we asked about Ahmadinejad's attack on his wife. “I think he went beyond our societal norms, and that is why he created a current against himself,” Mousavi said. “In our country, they don't insult a man's wife [to] his face. It is also not expected of a President to tend to such small details.”

He also criticized Ahmadinejad's incendiary rhetoric on international issues like Israel and the Holocaust, as he had during the campaign: “In our foreign policy we have confused fundamental issues... that are in our national interest with sensationalism that is more of domestic use.”

But “sensationalism” for “domestic use” is what political campaigns are usually all about. During more than a week in Iran, I interviewed as many people who admired Ahmadinejad as were appalled by him. On election day at the Hossein Ershad Mosque in north Tehran, I spoke with Ismail Askari, the head of the taxi drivers' union in the city of Malard, just west of Tehran. He was a Mousavi supporter, but he admitted, “Most of the people in my cab have been happy with the present government.”

And while it's the ultimate journalistic cliché to quote a cabdriver, I can't resist this one: on the Saturday before the election, I attended a large and metaphoric Mousavi rally—someone had cut the electricity, so the candidate couldn't speak—in the city of Kharaj, about an hour west of Tehran. The cabbie who drove us back to Tehran said his parents were divided on the election. “My mother supports Mousavi, and my father supports Ahmadinejad,” he said. “I was uncertain until I saw them debate. Ahmadinejad seemed stronger. I don't think I would want Mousavi negotiating with other governments.”

Which may be exactly what the Supreme Leader—who is the real power in Iran, with control over the military, the judiciary, foreign policy and the nuclear program—had in mind when, on June 13, he prematurely certified the phantasmic Ahmadinejad landslide. In the days before the election, reformers and principalists—including several Ahmadinejad advisers—told me that negotiations with the U.S. were likely, regardless of who won. “But it might be easier for the Supreme Leader to proceed if the

Iran's electoral embarrassment will make it easier for Obama to rally other countries to further isolate Iran. But that may be exactly what the current regime wants



The color of change? Mousavi supporters apply green paint on their cheeks during a Tehran campaign rally

tough guy is re-elected than if Mousavi is," said Mohebbian, the prominent principalist. "The negotiating team will be jointly decided by the Supreme Leader and the President. The Leader, who has great doubts about proceeding, will want a tough bargainer."

In truth, the reformers I spoke with seemed as unyielding as Ahmadinejad, if more politely so, when it came to discussing what Iran would be willing to concede in negotiations with the U.S. They were adamant on Iran's nuclear-enrichment program, which is permitted for peaceful purposes under the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. None of them, except Mousavi, was willing to acknowledge that weaponization of uranium might be in the works and therefore be a subject for negotiation. (Mousavi told me that if such a program existed, it would be negotiable, but he didn't say, and may not know, that it actually exists.) The reformers were unanimous in the belief that Barack Obama's conciliatory words were not enough, that the U.S. had to take palpable actions before talks would be possible. I asked each of them what steps Iran was prepared to make for peace. The answer was always the same. "It's natural that the first step should be taken by the Americans," said Karroubi, the most progressive of the four presidential can-

didates. "We didn't stage a coup against your elected government," he said, referring to the CIA's participation in the 1953 overthrow of the Mohammed Mossadegh government. "We have not frozen your assets. We don't have sanctions against you." (Of all the reformers, only Mousavi seemed to think that Obama's acknowledgment of the 1953 coup in his Cairo speech was a "positive step.")

Ahmadinejad's advisers were even more adamant than the reformers. When I asked Mehdi Kalhor, Ahmadinejad's top communications adviser, what he thought of Obama, he made a crude attempt at humor. "Only the skin color has changed" from George W. Bush, he said. "Now the color is chocolate. Chocolate is sweet. Children like it, but I don't very much." We met in Kalhor's office. He was wearing a red golf shirt, and his long hair was tied in a ponytail. "We understand Obama is different from Bush," he said, more seriously. "But you need these negotiations more than we do." I asked him why the U.S. did, since Iran was the country that was isolated from the rest of the world. "You're more isolated than we are," he replied, directly reflecting his boss's public arrogance. Ahmadinejad has offered to debate Obama at the U.N. but has been silent about substantive negotiations. When

this point was raised by an AP reporter at his postelection press conference, Ahmadinejad was dismissive. "That's a suggestion," he said. "Not a question."

Such intransigence—and the tarnished election results—makes the question of negotiations harder for Obama, but also easier in some ways. The U.S. President was appropriately cautious after the elections—criticizing the use of violence against the protesters, but not the results of the vote. It seems clear that his Administration will continue to seek negotiations that will, among other things, attempt to increase the transparency of Iran's nuclear program. If the Iranians are smart, they will respond quickly. If they continue to dally, Iran's electoral embarrassment will make it easier for Obama to rally other countries behind a tougher sanctions-and-deterrence plan that will further isolate Iran. But that may be exactly what the current regime wants. "Look, for the past 30 years, the Supreme Leader—first Khomeini, now Khamenei—has blamed all our problems on the Great Satan," a prominent conservative told me. "If you take away the Great Satan and we still have problems, how does he explain it? Almost everyone here is in favor of ending this war with America. But no one has less incentive to make peace than the Supreme Leader."

On the day after the election, two crowds gathered in front of the Ministry of Interior—Mousavi and Ahmadinejad supporters, several hundred of each, separated by the police. They chanted their slogans back and forth, and I was reminded of the wonderful street debates I'd seen several nights earlier. But suddenly the police, on motorcycles and on foot, dressed like starship troopers in body armor and brandishing billy clubs, charged into the Mousavi crowd. People began to run; some were knocked down; bodies were flying. And the Ahmadinejad crowd began to cheer.

It is impossible for an outsider, in Iran for 10 days, to sift through the governmental opacity, the contradictory demonstrations, and predict what comes next. It seems likely that no matter how many people flood the streets in protest, the Supreme Leader will continue to back Ahmadinejad. It also seems likely that while Barack Obama should continue to press for negotiations, he shouldn't be too optimistic about the prospect of success. ■



The popular revolt Mousavi, center, waves to his supporters at a June 15 rally in downtown Tehran



Power Of the People

An eyewitness account of how frustration fueled a revolt—and why Iran will never be the same

BY NAHID SIAMDOST/
TEHRAN

WHEN A MILLION people showed up on Revolution Avenue in downtown Tehran to protest the results of the June 12 presidential election, most of them wore sneakers, in case they had to run for their lives. The crowd included people of all walks and ages. Students holding posters that read LIES FORBIDDEN walked side by side with chadori housewives, heavily made-up young girls, manual laborers, middle-aged government workers and the elderly. They didn't chant insulting slogans, and there were few police in sight. Beneath the placid surface simmered frustration and anger—but also traces of hope. "People have come out because they've finally had enough. They're tired of all the lies that [President Mahmoud] Ahmadinejad has dished out," said Massoumeh, 46, who brought her two young daughters to the march. (Like most other Iranians I talked to, she did not want to give her full name.) "They can see the difference between what is being said and what is happening."

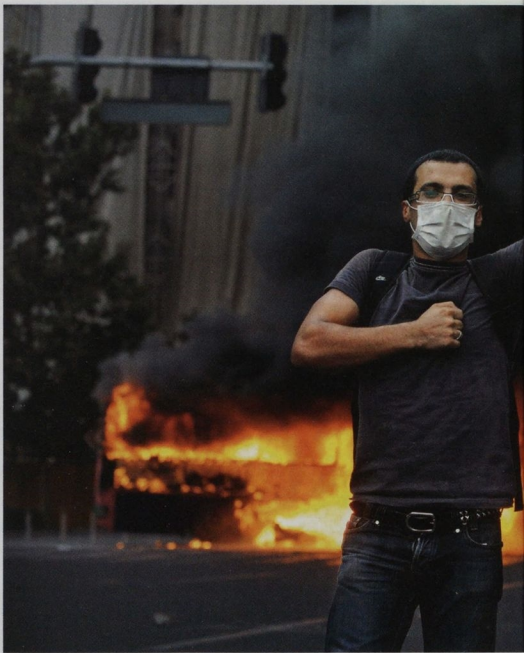
The popular revolt that

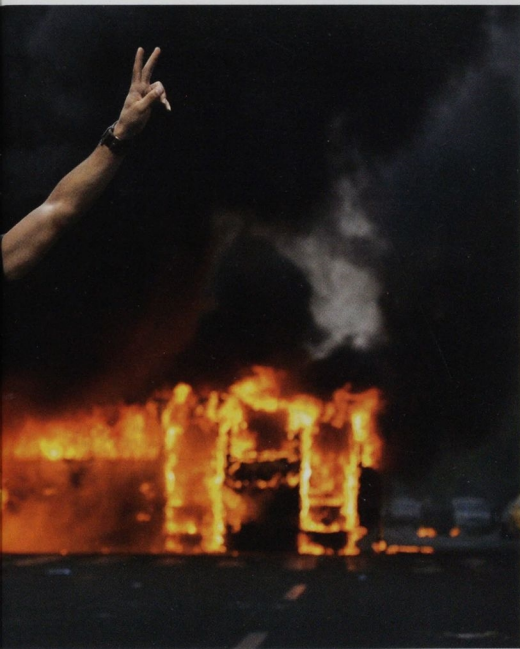
spread across the country in the days after the election has been as startling to ordinary Iranians as to the authorities trying to suppress it. Not since the Islamic revolution of 1979 has Tehran seen such spontaneous outpourings of emotion. Within hours of the announcement of the election results, Tehranis developed their own sign language of dissent. People passing one another stretched hands in peace signs. Drivers on jam-packed streets honked their horns in protest. Apartment dwellers climbed to their rooftops to shout

"Allahu akbar" and "Death to dictator!"—a gesture last seen three decades ago. When the regime blocked the Internet and cell-phone networks, demonstrators organized their rallies by word of mouth. It was democracy in action. "The amazing thing is that this movement has no leader," said Sima, 40, a book editor in Tehran. "Sure, people support [opposition presidential candidate Mir-Hossein] Mousavi, but the real reason they're here is to protest against the fraud."

It's not yet clear where the movement is headed. The re-

gime has crushed challenges to its authority before, most recently in 1999, when students poured into the streets to protest the closing of a reformist newspaper, prompting the government to unleash vigilantes on them. The state deployed its shock troops again this time: members of the Basij, a pro-Ahmadinejad paramilitary group, stormed dormitories at Tehran University, reportedly killing five students and detaining hundreds. At least one demonstrator was killed when a Basiji opened fire on a crowd. There are eyewitness





Language of dissent As smoke billows from a burning bus at a demonstration in Tehran, a Mousavi supporter flashes the sign for peace, or victory

reports of deaths from clashes across Iran. Yet no matter what transpires—whether the government bows to the demands for change or launches a bloodier crackdown—Iran will never be the same. The election and its aftermath exposed the cynicism of the country's leaders but also revealed the determination of millions of Iranians to reach for a future that suddenly seems within their grasp.

The mood on the streets of Tehran has been a mix of anger, exhilaration and dread. The day after Ahmadinejad was declared the victor in a

landslide, people emptied into the streets in rage. Downtown, groups of demonstrators set several buses, a building and hundreds of garbage bins on fire, smashed the windows of state banks and destroyed ATMs. On Ghaem-Magham Street, I watched a lone woman dressed in a head-to-toe black chador standing on the side of the road, flashing the peace sign to passing cars and yelling, "Only Mousavi." The woman, a 36-year-old bank employee named Maryam, had told her children to find dinner for themselves. "What

I'm doing here is more important for their future," she said. When people driving by warned her that she might get beaten for speaking so openly, she said, "Let them beat me. My country is going to waste. What am I worth in comparison?"

Just then, a Basiji charged at her from nowhere carrying a metal rod. As he prepared to strike her, a group of men got out of their cars, tackled the man and started beating him. Maryam got up from the ground, composed herself and went right back to her

spot to continue her mission. I watched as seven more people joined her, until they were chased away by police special forces wielding batons.

Despite the initial post-election mayhem, the government had some reason to believe that the fury would subside. Since Ahmadinejad's victory in 2005, when many voters stayed away from the polls, the reform movement had been largely dormant. So when Mousavi called for a demonstration on June 15, no one was sure how many people would show up. Some of his supporters may well have resigned themselves to defeat—until Ahmadinejad's victory speech, in which he compared the protesters to fans upset about losing a soccer match and called them a minority of "twigs and mote." A number of people I talked to at the pro-Mousavi march on Revolution Avenue cited the President's comments as reason to keep up the fight. "What he said drove me crazy," said a 26-year-old mechanic from Hashemiye, in south Tehran.

That people are now willing to risk their lives and take action shows that Iran has crossed a threshold. The nature of the demonstrations has reminded the state that people do, after all, care as much about democratic rights as they do about the economy. Ahmadinejad has done poorly on both counts, but as long as the state respected the vote, Iranians—who fought hard for the revolution that led to the creation of the Islamic Republic—were willing to overlook other shortcomings. Now that trust is gone. "This time they went too far," says Mohsen, a 32-year-old government employee. "We already deposed one of the strongest dictatorships in the world 30 years ago. They should know that we won't tolerate another."



THE GREAT CRUSADE

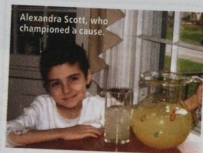
Any family can take a stand and help raise money for medical research on childhood cancer.

Every three weeks, Dawn Talley travels with her son Elijah, 8, to the Children's Hospital of Philadelphia for a new cancer treatment that isn't available near their home in Little Rock, Ark. Elijah was diagnosed with neuroblastoma, a rare form of childhood cancer, in 2005. The early rounds of treatment in Little Rock helped, but he relapsed in 2007.

Elijah has responded well so far to the new treatment. And, for the most part, he has managed to keep his spirits up. "He likes to play practical jokes and find the adventure in everything he does," says Dawn. The high cost of travel has put financial pressure on the Talleys, however, who also have a daughter. "One time we did the 18-hour drive to the hospital," Dawn recalls.

To enable Elijah to continue the treatment, Alex's Lemonade Stand Foundation has started picking up some of the Talleys' travel costs. Liz and Jay Scott, parents of founder Alexandra "Alex" Scott, know what it's like to cope with childhood cancer. Their daughter, Alex,

was the driving force behind what has now become a leading childhood cancer nonprofit organization, based in Wyndwood, Pa. Alex ultimately lost her life to childhood cancer in 2004 at the age of 8. Before she passed away, Alex began selling lemonade from a stand in front



of her home to raise money for children's cancer research. Soon, friends, elementary school classes and volunteers across the country joined the cause. Alex's Lemonade Stand has raised more than \$25 million for childhood cancer research.

The Scotts picked up the ball a few months after losing Alex, and today

thousands of families, schools, businesses and other organizations have set up their own stands. Support from corporations has also helped. Volvo dealers in Philadelphia, for instance, recently held an annual fundraiser. Volvo has also partnered with the foundation to create the Lemonade Stand for Life (lemonadestandforlife.com), where online visitors can contribute to the foundation by purchasing "virtual" cups of lemonade for \$1; it has raised more than \$200,000 since its launch last year. "It's amazing, the power of the foundation," says Doug Speck, president and CEO of Volvo Cars of North America. "I'm always inspired by how a couple of people—a mother and father—can make such a difference."

This year, the foundation expects to meet its fundraising goal of \$7.5 million. It will use the funds to help families like the Talleys across the country, but most of the money will support research into better treatments and new cures for pediatric cancer patients being done at leading hospitals, such as The Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore. "Some of the aggressive cancers haven't had breakthroughs in quite some time," notes Liz Scott.

Despite their family's challenges, the Talleys have also given back to the foundation. A year after Elijah's diagnosis, Britt Talley, his father, collected donations at a bright yellow lemonade stand he built outside of their local grocery store. Last year, Elijah's school, the Arkansas Virtual Academy, built a stand in his honor. Dawn says the family would not have known about Elijah's current treatment without attending a recent conference funded by the foundation. "The foundation does so many wonderful things," she says. "We really wanted to give back."

—E.M. Sicoli

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More Data + Less Care = Lower Cost + Better Health

Obama's diagnosis for health reform would cut costs by rewarding quality care and limiting unnecessary treatments. But one man's economies are another's lost profits

BY MICHAEL GRUNWALD

EZEKIEL EMANUEL GOT A MEMORABLE introduction to our haphazard health-care system on his first visit to a cancer ward as a medical student. The white coats were ordering a transfusion for a teenage girl, and since shyness does not run in his family—brother Rahm is President Obama's famously foulmouthed chief of staff, brother Ari a similarly silence-deficient Hollywood agent—he interrupted to ask why. Because she had Hodgkin's disease and her platelets were below 20,000, the team explained. Emanuel still had questions: Was there evidence for that protocol? Don't some hospitals wait until 10,000? Why 20,000? Because that's what we do here, one doc replied.

Now a noted oncologist turned White House health adviser, Emanuel has spent much of his career battling the that's-what-we-do-here mentality of American medicine. "It drives me nuts—the ignorance is overwhelming," he says. "I'm a data-driven guy. I want to see evidence." It turns out that Emanuel's boss, budget director Peter Orszag, is also a data-driven guy, as is Orszag's boss, the President of the United States. They've already stuffed \$1.1 billion



into the stimulus bill to jump-start “comparative effectiveness research” into which treatments work best in which situations. Now they’re pushing to overhaul the entire health-care sector by year’s end, and they’re determined to replace ignorance with evidence, to create a data-driven system, to shift one-sixth of the economy from “that’s what we do here” to “that’s what works.”

The U.S. spends more on health care than any other country does, and studies have suggested that as much as 30% of it—perhaps \$700 billion a year—may be wasted on unneeded care, mostly routine CT scans and MRIs, office visits, hospital stays, minor procedures and brand-name prescriptions that are requested by patients and ordered by doctors every day. Orszag is particularly obsessed with research by the Dartmouth Institute for Health Policy and Clinical Practice, documenting huge regional variations in costs but virtually no variations in outcomes. For example, chronically ill patients in Los Angeles visited doctors an average of 59.2 times in the last six months of their life, vs. only 14.5 times in Ogden, Utah; they still ended up just as dead. Medicare now pays three times as much per en-

\$40,410

The difference between the amount that Mayo Clinic’s flagship hospital spends per Medicare patient in the last two years of life (\$53,432) and the total at UCLA’s medical center (\$93,842)

rollee in Miami as in Honolulu, and costs are growing twice as fast in Dallas as in San Diego. Patients in higher-spending regions get more tests, more procedures, more referrals to specialists and more time in the hospital and ICU, but the Dartmouth research has found that if anything, their outcomes are slightly worse. “We’re flying blind,” says Dartmouth’s Dr. Elliott Fisher. “We’re getting quantity, not quality.”

Why Less Would Be More

AMERICANS TEND TO ASSUME THAT MORE is better, especially when it comes to the heroic brand of try-everything medicine we’ve watched on *ER* and *House M.D.* But overtreatment is a national scandal. It’s bad for our health: with medical errors now estimated to be our eighth leading cause of death, drugs, procedures and hospital stays can be risky (as well as painful, time-consuming and wallet-straining) even when they’re necessary. It’s also bad for the economy: health costs are bankrupting small businesses and even conglomerates like General Motors as well as millions of families. And it’s awful for the country: Medicare is on track to go broke by 2017,

and our long-term budget problems are primarily health-cost problems. At current growth rates, health spending by the Federal Government alone would increase from 5% to 20% of the economy by 2050; Social Security, by contrast, would increase only from 5% to 6%.

Alas, there's no proven link between more spending and better care. The good news is that parts of the country provide care at a low cost, so there's potential for gigantic savings if the rest of the U.S. could imitate them. One Dartmouth study found that if nationwide spending had mirrored the modest rate of that in Rochester, Minn.—where care is dominated by the renowned Mayo Clinic—Medicare would have reduced its costs for chronically ill patients by \$50 billion from 2001 to 2005. As the old inflation-adjusted saying goes, pretty soon you're talking about real money.

But one man's unnecessary costs are another man's profits; lobbyists for drug and devicemakers, hospitals, doctors and insurers are already fighting to make sure their slices of the more than \$2 trillion health-care pie aren't nibbled by reform. Senate Republicans just introduced "anti-rationing" legislation to bar the government from using comparative-effectiveness research—"a common tool used by socialized health-care systems"—for cost control. They paused in their usual attacks on Obama's profligacy just long enough to attack his stinginess, warning that he will use evidence as an excuse to micromanage the art of medicine, stifle innovation and deny Americans their right to choose whatever treatments they want—or at least their right to taxpayer reimbursements.

Some of this is transparent posturing, but there are legitimate concerns about politicians' deciding when treatments are effective enough—or, more controversially, cost-effective enough—to be reimbursable. Medical knowledge is constantly evolving, and treatments that seem to lack solid evidence today might seem indispensable tomorrow. Wasteful tests and procedures don't come with labels marked **WASTEFUL**, and most patients and providers genuinely believe the care they're getting and giving is necessary. Comprehensive studies of what works can be slow, expensive and inconclusive. Even Orszag admits the savings from cutting out unneeded care would take a decade to materialize.

Still, those savings could mean the difference between national solvency and fiscal catastrophe, so Obama is targeting two major barriers to data-driven medicine. The first is the perverse "fee-for-service" incentive that now plague our health-care system: hospitals get paid more if you stay longer and come back often; doctors get paid

The Geography Of Health Care

Regional variations in medical practices produce huge variations in costs but virtually no difference in outcomes. Billions could be saved if the best practices were copied everywhere



Mayo Clinic
(St. Mary's Hospital)
Rochester, Minn.

Medicare spending	\$53,432
Physician visits	23.9
Days in hospital	12.0
Hospital beds	58.2

MAP KEY MEDICARE REIMBURSEMENTS PER PATIENT

■	\$9,000 to 16,352
■	8,000 to 8,999
■	7,500 to 7,999
■	7,000 to 7,499
■	5,310 to 6,999
■	No data

Average age-sex-race-adjusted Medicare spending per enrollee in 2006 by hospital referral region

Source: The Dartmouth Atlas of Health Care 2008



UCLA Medical Center
Los Angeles

Medicare spending	\$93,842
Physician visits	52.8
Days in hospital	18.5
Hospital beds	85.8

more if they do more tests and procedures—and you come back often. More services, more fees. "You've got to follow the money," says former Senator Tom Daschle, Obama's initial choice for health czar. "We reward volume, so that's what we get." Obama wants to reward quality instead.

The other big barrier is information: evidence-based medicine is hard to practice without evidence. There are studies showing that generic and over-the-counter drugs for hypertension, heartburn and psychosis are often just as effective as costlier brand-name alternatives; that stents can work miracles when inserted quickly after heart attacks but don't seem to help much as pre-

ventive measures; that the areas with the most hospital beds, imaging machines and specialists spend the most on excess hospital stays, MRIs and specialty care. But the big money in medical research goes to testing new drugs and cutting-edge technologies, not to comparing existing treatments. Drug companies often just have to prove that their products are better than placebos to get FDA approval; new devices merely have to be similar to existing products. Nobody has to show that their drug or device works better than rival drugs or devices, or treatments that don't require drugs or devices. So the things we know are dwarfed by the things we don't know.



Cleveland Clinic Foundation

Medicare spending	\$55,333
Physician visits	33.1
Days in hospital	14.8
Hospital beds	65.5



Massachusetts General Hospital

Medicare spending	\$78,666
Physician visits	39.5
Days in hospital	17.3
Hospital beds	79.2

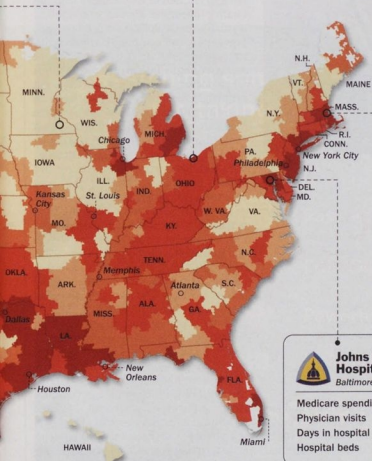


CHART KEY

Medicare spending is per patient during last two years of life

Physician visits and days in hospital are per-patient averages during last six months of life

Hospital beds are number of beds used per 1,000 patients during last two years of life



Johns Hopkins Hospital

Medicare spending	\$85,729
Physician visits	28.9
Days in hospital	16.5
Hospital beds	78.2

Then again, we do know what high-quality, low-cost medicine looks like. It's already available in Rochester, Minn.

The Mayo Way

THE MAYO CLINIC ATTRACTS KINGS and Presidents, injured athletes and ailing billionaires. When Mr. Burns visited Mayo on *The Simpsons*, Fidel Castro and the Pope were chatting in the waiting room. But Rochester's costs are well below the national average because Mayo also provides tremendous value for ordinary care; its flagship hospital spent just more than half as much per patient in the last two years of life as did the UCLA Medical Center.

What makes Mayo different? It's clearly avoided the oversupply trap—the UCLA center had about 50% more beds, and its chronically ill Medicare patients spent about 50% more time in the hospital. But that's just part of the "Mayo way."

On a visit to Rochester last month, I watched a hospice team of nurses, social workers, a chaplain and just one doctor talk about dying patients in ways that might have baffled the white coats on Emanuel's cancer ward: platelets were discussed, but so were spiritual needs, family tensions, hobbies and anything else relevant to quality of life. It sounds squishy, but Mayo patients who request palliative care have 84% lower

hospital costs, 53% lower overall costs and higher satisfaction. Mayo has computerized medical records that provide instant access to patient histories, improving information-sharing, reducing pharmacy errors and eliminating the hassle of tracking down charts. The staff cafeteria even gives away fruit, illustrating Mayo's apple-a-day commitment to prevention and wellness. Like other low-cost, high-quality institutions—the Cleveland Clinic, Geisinger in Pennsylvania, Intermountain in Utah—Mayo is dedicated to offering integrated and coordinated care, with a broad network of providers working together to reduce redundant tests and office visits, improve disease management and generally avoid treating patients like pinballs. "It's a team sport here," says David Lewallen, a Mayo orthopedic surgeon. "A bunch of tennis players doing their own thing just doesn't work—it's too expensive, and it's bad medicine. We only do things to help the patient, and we're all looking over each other's shoulders."

Mayo also has an institutional obsession with evidence-based medicine, using electronic records for in-house effectiveness research, constantly monitoring its doctors on everything from infection rates to operating times to patient outcomes, minimizing the art of medicine and maximizing the science. "We try to drive out variation wherever we can," says Charles (Mike) Harper, a neurologist who oversees Mayo's clinical practice in Rochester. "Practicing medicine is not the same as building Toyotas, but you can still standardize. Uncertainty shouldn't be an excuse to ignore data." Mayo has teams working on evidence-based protocols to reduce the use of intensive care, lower valve-replacement costs and avoid unneeded transfusions. It's standardizing a handoff protocol that reduced errors after shift changes at its Arizona branch, as well as a program that boosted patient satisfaction by teaching doctors at its Florida branch to listen better. Mayo even has its own registry to track artificial joints, which are expected to increase fivefold by 2030 as baby boomers seek spare parts. Reducing the failure rate for artificial hips and knees 10% could save taxpayers \$500 million a year.

Mayo doctors are also shielded from the incentives that discourage evidence-based medicine, because they all receive fixed salaries. They don't make more if they do more to patients, and they don't make less if they take more time to talk to them—even if they use the time to explain why a CT scan or a wonder drug advertised on TV might not be advisable. They don't have to worry about reimbursements that overvalue radiological tests and invasive prostate treatments, undervalue preventive care and watchful waiting and put zero value on returning a

phone call or thinking about a case. "We've been able to buffer our staff from the harsh realities of the system, so they can concentrate on patient needs," says Dawn Miller, a kidney doctor who oversees clinical practice throughout Mayo. "But it's not clear how long we can keep doing that."

That's the bad news about Mayo's success: it's not sustainable. The harsh reality is that smart, conservative, data-driven, patient-focused medicine is not necessarily profitable medicine. Last year, Mayo lost \$840 million on \$1.7 billion in Medicare work. It compensated by charging private insurers a premium for the Mayo name, but they're starting to balk. "The system pays more money for worse care," says Mayo CEO Denis Cortese. "If it doesn't start paying for value instead of volume, it will destroy the culture of the organizations with the best care. We might have to start doing more procedures just to stay in business."

Are We the Change He Seeks?

IN THE COMING WEEKS, MILLIONS OF DOLLARS will be spent on the health-care debate because trillions of dollars are at stake. Lobbyists are already warning that Obamacare will empower bureaucrats to reject new drugs and procedures on the basis of shadowy cost-effectiveness formulas that place a monetary value on life. Ads will soon transform the seemingly innocuous push for comparative research into a nightmarish vision of Big Government telling doctors what to do, suppressing the development of lifesaving technologies, ignoring the needs of minorities in pursuit of one-size-fits-all "cookbook medicine," destroying an American tradition of personalized care. "It's a \$2 trillion industry with blood in the water," says James Weinstein, head of the Dartmouth Institute. "You can't be surprised that the sharks are circling."

Helping organize the pushback against the drive for data has been former House whip and legendary Democratic operator Tony Coelho, an epileptic who helped write the Americans with Disabilities Act and now leads the Partnership to Improve Patient Care. The partnership is an odd coalition of the drug companies, device makers and medical specialists who stand to lose the most from evidence-based medicine, joined by a variety of patient groups (some of whom also receive industry funding) concerned about access to care. Coelho says he welcomes effectiveness research if it can help doctors and patients make more informed decisions, but he argues with passion that it should never be used to limit treatments, modify reimbursements or otherwise cut costs. "If you come at this trying to save the almighty dollar because you think we're spending too much mon-



\$700 BILLION

Estimated cost of unnecessary medical care administered in the U.S. every year

Pellen Mayo's palliative-care patients, like Kathy Anhalt, are charged far less than those elsewhere

ey on drugs and devices and Sally and Joe, the American people will revolt," Coelho says. "You'll get your jollies because you're bringing down the cost of health care, but you won't really be solving problems." The partnership's official position is essentially that more public research is great as long as it doesn't affect public policy.

It's true that information alone can be helpful. Anesthesiologists sharply reduced mortality rates after their association published evidence-based guidelines; emergency-room nurses have reduced infection rates by following clinically proven to do lists. After one pharmacy benefits manager sent letters urging customers with high cholesterol to check out the evidence-based *Consumer Reports* site Bestbuydrugs.org, 4.3% switched to cheaper but equally effective drugs, for savings of \$12 million. Similarly, when doctors and patients are fully educated about the costs and benefits of various treatment options for prostate cancer, surgery rates drop by half.

But without incentives to use it, in-

formation alone will not lead to reform. Obama wants to make evidence-based medicine financially attractive so that providers are rewarded rather than punished for reducing readmissions and unnecessary procedures. "We can't just do research and let it sit on a shelf," Orszag says. It is fair for industry groups to insist on an independent agency to oversee the effectiveness research, so that decisions about what to study are separate from decisions about what to reimburse. And some of Obama's quality incentives are fairly straightforward, like extra dollars for primary care, prevention and computerization; to discourage wasteful defensive medicine, he seems willing to limit malpractice lawsuits when doctors stick to best practices. But ultimately, rewarding quality rather than quantity will require daunting changes in Medicare reimbursement policies. That could mean lower patient costs and higher provider revenues for proven treatments, but when patients want more expensive options unsupported by data, they may have to pay the difference themselves.

In the past, industry lobbyists have persuaded Congress to squash even mild reimbursement reforms; former Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala recalls a futile effort to reduce overpayments and promote competition among oxygen providers. "Congress stops anything that's going to gore anybody's ox," Shalala says. "If Congress is going to be involved in the nitty-gritty payment details, reform is dead." Obama wants to let another independent agency, similar to the military-base-closing commission, recommend how to pay for quality, which would limit political haggling. But even if such a panel focused on clinical effectiveness rather than cost-effectiveness—so that taxpayers would cover vastly more expensive approaches as long as they were slightly more effective—the shift would still be dramatic for Medicare, which currently covers just about any possibly effective treatment with virtually no regard for cost. If Medicare takes the lead in reform, private insurers should follow.

This would probably qualify as "rationing," but anyone who's ever had an insurer refuse to pay for something knows that health care is already rationed, in the sense that you can't always get everything you want. Still, oxen would be gored, and the backlash could be nasty. The ultimate success of Obamacare might depend on a cultural change among doctors and patients, a national realization that more care isn't better care. "We've got this ethos that the best doctors do everything under the sun and rule out every zebra," Emanuel says. "And hey, they get paid more to do it. But we've got to change all that." ■

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The Turnaround Artista

Chrysler's new boss, Sergio Marchionne, saved Fiat, but he wants to be viewed as a good manager, not a heroic leader. The American carmaker may need both

BY PETER GUMBEL

WHENEVER SERGIO MARCHIONNE TALKS about his latest calling—fixing auto companies written off as basket cases—he doesn't sound anything like most auto types. For a start, he's a lawyer and an accountant rather than a car engineer, and instead of getting bogged down in long discussions about the merits of one particular type of engine or gearbox, he likes to talk about Apple.

Since he took over as chief executive of Italy's Fiat in 2004, the chain-smoking Canadian Italian has used Apple as a model, focusing on the way Steve Jobs transformed it from an also-ran computer company into a global icon of cool. He encourages Fiat managers to take a close look at Apple's branding prowess and even asks them to benchmark their activities against the company. His biggest success at Fiat is the 500—a tiny, very cool 21st century version of a 52-year-old Italian icon once driven by movie stars such as Marcello Mastroianni and Sophia Loren—which Marchionne calls “our iPod.”

All this has a touch of Italian hyperbole, but the point is a serious one as Marchionne, 57, tackles his next big challenge: Chrysler. For at Chrysler, he's moving, just as he did at Fiat, to restructure the organization, overhaul production, revamp the lineup, motivate a beaten-down workforce and deal with prickly shareholders—this time including the U.S. government.

If Marchionne is to succeed, he needs above all to reposition Chrysler from maker of clunky, overpowered gas guzzlers to purveyor of must-own, energy-efficient vehicles. “The challenge for Fiat Chrysler is to move away from popular products and into ‘pop’ products, full of cool environmental technology and on the right side of history,” says Carlo Alberto Carnevale, a professor of strategic management at Bocconi University's business school in Milan and a close watcher of Fiat. “In that sense, it's the same bet as Steve Jobs’. That's why Marchionne uses that metaphor.”

The jazz-loving Marchionne, who

left Italy as a teenager to move to Canada and for a while lived just across the river from Detroit, is not a micromanager. He declined to be interviewed, but in a first-person account of the Fiat turnaround published in *Harvard Business Review*, he talked about how he had abandoned the “Great Man model of leadership” that long characterized the Italian firm. Fiat's Great Man was the late Gianni Agnelli, grandson of founder Giovanni, whose family was nothing short of Italian industrial royalty and still controls the firm.

Marchionne has no such regal aspirations. He doesn't even own a soccer team. He's not a flashy dresser, sporting casual, open-necked shirts and spending his free time quietly with family by Lake Geneva. He's at the firm to manage Fiat, not rule it. “My job as CEO is not to make decisions about the business but to set stretch objectives and help our managers work out how to reach them,” he wrote. It worked at Marchionne's previous job, as head of a Swiss insurance and verification company called SGS.

Marchionne's most interesting challenge is that Chrysler's new owners, postbankruptcy, are his employees—the United Auto Workers, which holds a 55% stake through its retiree trust fund. His other bosses include the U.S. and Canadian governments, which hold 8% and 2%, respectively. Fiat will start with a 20% stake, which could reach 35% if Chrysler succeeds. “Politics and unions

Rolling Marchionne broke the mold at Fiat (that's founder Giovanni Agnelli in the portrait)

are Marchionne's biggest risks,” says Carnevale. “Having politicians on the board of directors will require very complex management.”

So what's his strategy? Marchionne is likely to hew closely to the playbook he used to revive Fiat. On June 10, the day Fiat sealed the deal, he announced a thorough organizational revamp. From now on, each of the four individual brands—Chrysler, Jeep, Dodge and Mopar (which makes parts)—will be distinct business units responsible for profit and loss. He also reached deep into the ranks, bypassing the engineers and putting a younger, energetic generation of managers with marketing experience in charge of the brands. “That's a mirror image of what he did at Fiat,” says a longtime Fiat executive. Next up: installing Fiat production platforms at Chrysler plants and using Fiat's sales network to sell Jeeps and other Chrysler models around the world.

If Marchionne gets mirror results, he'll make two governments and a union very happy. Fiat's auto unit, after 17 consecutive quarters of losses, finally turned a profit in 2005. The time to market for its cars has dropped from four years to 18 months.

In his first memo to Chrysler employees, Marchionne talked about that record. “Five years ago, I stepped into a very similar situation at Fiat. It was perceived by many as a failing, lethargic automaker that produced low-quality cars and was stymied by endless bureaucracies,” he wrote. Giving his version of the turnaround—hard work, tough choices, heavy investment and a culture “where everyone is expected to lead”—he promised that “we can and will accomplish the same results here.” Even if Fiat doesn't become the next Apple, everyone from the President to the survivors on the Jeep shop floor are hoping that he's right. —WITH REPORTING BY JOE SZCZESNY/DETROIT ■



LO STILE ITALIANO

The snazzy 500 made Fiat cool again. The company's small, high-performance engines may prove valuable to Chrysler



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FOOD

Calorie-Conscious Menus. The Senate wants to make chains post this info front and center, but will that make us eat less?

BY SEAN GREGORY

HOW SLOPPY IS THAT TRIPLE Whopper with cheese? It has 1,250 calories, or 62.5% of the recommended 2,000-calories-per-day diet. The Fried Macaroni and Cheese from the Cheesecake Factory? Try 1,570 calories—according to health experts, you're bet-

ter off eating a stick of butter.

If public-health advocates, and now the Senate, get their way, when you look at a menu from a chain restaurant, those calorie counts will be staring you down. "Order me if you dare," the mighty Quesadilla Burger from Applebee's (1,440 calories) may entreat. Spurred by the passage of a slew of state

and local menu-labeling laws, on June 10 the Senate reached a bipartisan agreement to include a federal menu-labeling law as part of comprehensive health-care reform. Of course, who knows when that hornet's nest will come up for a vote. But in the meantime, health proponents are likening the Senate provision to legal

requirements for a clothing label—i.e., what it's made of. "Isn't information that can help you avoid obesity and diabetes as important as knowing how to wash your blouse?" says Margot Wootan, director of nutrition policy for the non-partisan Center for Science in the Public Interest.

Until recently, the resta-

Stealth (Calorie) Bombers. Tasty? Yes. But would full disclosure steer us away?



1,440 CALORIES

QUESADILLA BURGER

A signature item at **Applebee's**, this bacon cheeseburger comes with 4,410 mg of sodium, nearly twice the recommended daily limit



2,140 CALORIES

AUSSIE CHEESE FRIES

Yes, it's meant to be shared, but this **Outback Steakhouse** appetizer has more calories than you should eat all day



980 CALORIES

OREO SUNDAE SHAKE

Order a medium with strawberry ice cream, and **Burger King** will serve up 21 g of saturated fat (more than a day's worth)



700 CALORIES

CHICKEN BOWL

Surprise! This **KFC** ensemble has only a third of the recommended daily calories

Sources: Nutrition Action Healthletter; Outback Steakhouse; BurgerKing.com; KFC.com; USDA

rant industry had been pushing a federal bill that would require chains with 20 or more restaurants nationwide to post calorie information somewhere near the point of purchase but not on the menu itself. The industry claimed menu postings would be a costly logistical burden and would clutter valuable real estate on the menus. Not surprisingly, chains won't voice the most obvious argument against high-profile calorie counts. "They're concerned that consumers will be turned off by what they see," says Tom Forte, restaurant analyst at the Telsey Advisory Group, a consulting firm.

In the end, the industry backed the Senate's on-the-menu provision in an effort to pre-empt a patchwork of state and local statutes (13 have passed, and 30 or so more have been introduced). Such legislation would prevent a municipality from requiring both calories and, say, saturated fat to be tallied on menus. (The fried macaroni and cheese at the Cheesecake Factory has a staggering 69 grams of saturated fat—more than you should eat in 3½ days.)

As the menu-labeling momentum keeps surging, will such policy really improve eat-

ing habits? Well, it can do no worse than what's out there. In a study published in the May issue of the *American Journal of Public Health*, researchers observed 4,311 patrons of McDonald's, Burger King, Starbucks and Au Bon Pain to see if they accessed in-store nutrition data. The info was not on the menu board but in a pamphlet, on a wall poster or an on-site computer. Only six, or 0.1%, of the patrons looked at the numbers. Sure, a few more may have already studied the information. But six out of 4,311? If restaurants are sincere about health, they need to put calorie counts on the menu, straight in the customers' sight lines.

So far, mandatory on-the-menu calorie counts have been implemented in only three localities: Washington's King County (which includes Seattle), New York City and Westchester County, a suburb of New York. And since none of these provisions have been in place for more than a year, nutritionists have yet to gather empirical proof that they work. But some science suggests that prominently displayed calorie counts steer purchases. In 2007, researchers in New York City examined consumer eating habits at Subway, which

voluntarily posted calorie info in its stores. This study, also published in the *American Journal of Public Health*, reported that Subway patrons who pondered the calorie information purchased 52 fewer calories than those who didn't. Further, according to a survey conducted in February by Technomic, a food-industry consultancy, 82% of New York City residents said the new highly visible nutrition information has affected their ordering. Of those people, 71% said they sought out lower-calorie options, and 51% said they no longer ordered certain items.

While such statistics are promising, menu counts are no silver bullet. Martin Lindstrom, the noted consumer psychologist and author of *Buyology: Truths and Lies About Why We Buy*, fears that consumers will tune out the numbers long term. "Eventually, calorie counts will just be wallpaper," he says.

82% of New Yorkers said the new in-your-face nutrition data have affected their ordering

But forced disclosure could lead more restaurants to change their offerings. A report by New York City health officials noted that since menu-labeling went into effect last summer, some chains have lowered the calorie counts on certain items. For example, in March 2007, a Chicken Club sandwich at Wendy's was listed as being 650 calories. In June 2008, as the New York law kicked in, the item was 540 calories—a 17% drop. (Wendy's used a lower-calorie mayo to reduce the count, but a spokesman insists menu-labeling played no part in the move. Call it a happy coincidence.)

Meanwhile, Yum! Brands, parent company of Kentucky Fried Chicken, Pizza Hut and Taco Bell, has promised to post calorie information on its menus by January 2011. If the creator of KFC's Famous Bowls—fried chicken, mashed potatoes, corn, gravy and shredded cheese packed together for your gut-busting pleasure—volunteers to share these numbers, what excuse can other chains claim for not following suit, particularly if Washington lags in forcing them to do so? The writing is on the wall. And perhaps, as a result, fewer calories will be in your stomach. ■

SOCIAL NORMS

Online Dating and Genetics. A new company is offering DNA tests to help predict which couples will hit it off



BY SALLY MCGRANE

REMEMBER THE FAMOUS sweaty-T-shirt experiment? When asked to sniff men's shirts back in 1995, women who were not on the Pill preferred the scent of their own. Opposites, the data suggested, really do attract. The experiment inspired the launch last summer of GenePartner.com, a Swiss company that uses genetics to predict whether two people will have butterflies

in the stomach chemistry. Already, partnerships are in the works with both traditional matchmakers and new online-dating sites, including Sense2Love.com, which plans to add genetic matching by the end of the summer.

GenePartner is testing only one group of genes: human leukocyte antigens (HLAs), which play an essential role in immune function. One hypothesis from the T-shirt experiment is that the offspring of couples with different HLAs stand to inherit a greater variety of po-

tential immune responses and will therefore be more resistant to disease. Another is that HLAs help people screen out mating partners to whom they might be too closely related.

GenePartner tested long-term couples' HLA makeup and had them fill out in-depth questionnaires. "We asked them whether they find their relationship passionate, about the quality of intercourse, if it was love at first sight," says co-founder Tamara Brown. With genetic data from 270 couples, the company came up with

an algorithm for predicting compatibility based on HLA combinations. "It's something you don't think about when you're choosing a partner," the neurobiologist says. "But it's an important evolutionary principle, to keep the species alive."

GenePartner is offering genetic matching to companies already looking to hook up people on the basis of important social factors like age, interests and geographic location. "We're very accurate with the biological part—predicting that 'spark,'" Brown says.

Not everyone is convinced by the science behind the concept. "There's conflicting evidence as to the extent to which HLA plays a role in what we call mate choice," says Peter Donnelly, director of Oxford's Wellcome Centre for Human Genetics. But GenePartner is betting that the lovelorn will give it a shot. For now, for \$99, you can order a kit, swab your cheek, mail it to a Switzerland and get your GenePartner ID. You can then be matched with anybody in the GenePartner database. Eventually, you'll be able to take your ID with you from dating site to dating site. Or post it on, say, Facebook. "You could see who in your network you're genetically compatible with," says Brown. And with any luck, spare yourself a lot of shirt-sniffing. ■

FAMILY TECH

iLost My Phone. At last, help for cellualars that go mobile



Apple's newest iPhone offers the holy grail of the cellular business: help for when you misplace the device. The Find My iPhone feature lets you locate it on a Google map and then make it beep until you pick it up. You can also

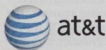
send a message to display on its screen if the phone is far away—say, in a restaurant. Or if it gets stolen out of your hands (as Kevin Bacon's BlackBerry was last month), you can erase everything on your phone remotely. But the

feature isn't free: it's part of Apple's MobileMe service, which, for \$99 a year, syncs e-mail and other data between your iPhone and computers. One other downside: It's no help if your phone is out of juice.

—BY JOSH QUITTNER ■

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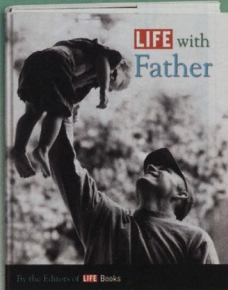


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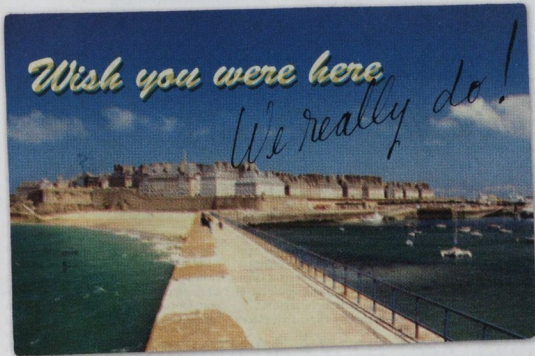
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The apartheid government
decided blacks had no need for
roads, trees and houses

ALEX PERRY ON JOHANNESBURG'S RENEWAL

Global Business

■ TOURISM ■ MEGACITIES



Tourism's
contribution to
GDP (2009 est.)



hit international travel earlier this decade. "The last months have been increasingly challenging," says Jean-Claude Baumgarten, president of the World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC), an organization of travel executives, "and we clearly haven't seen the end of it yet."

That's an understatement. During the first quarter of this year, China, which in 2004 overtook Italy to become the world's fourth most visited country, saw the number of international visitors drop more than 7% and its foreign-tourism revenues shrink more than 15%. In Spain, year-on-year arrivals dropped 16% in February—the country's sharpest decline in years. And in the tropical islands of the Caribbean and South Pacific, it's a case of surf, sand and empty beach chairs. In February, French Polynesia reported a 30% drop in year-on-year arrivals. Tourist numbers there are now at levels last seen in 1996. The WTTC estimates the travel industry will contract 3.5% this year and shed 10 million jobs by the end of 2010.

You might think the last thing we should be worrying about is taking a vacation. Aren't we all meant to be saving and paying off mortgages? But that's underestimating the size of the global tourism industry and its potential to energize the

TOURISM

The Vacation Recession.

The travel industry is hurting, forcing companies and countries to scramble for visitors

BY WILLIAM LEE ADAMS

ON A TYPICAL WEEKEND AFTERNOON, BEIJING'S Silk Street Market buzzes with the sound of tens of thousands of tourists haggling over antiques, jewelry and knockoff Gucci handbags. Rickshaw drivers normally scoop up these marketgoers, pedal them to their hotels and return with pockets full of foreign currency—a lucrative cycle that drivers can repeat dozens of times a day. In recent months, though, the Silk Street Market's once reliable bustle has thinned dramatically. "I haven't seen a single tour bus pulling into the market this morning,"

says Lao Qian, a 49-year-old rickshaw driver taking a long lunch break. "And I've had a total of three customers since yesterday."

From China to the Caribbean, Thailand to Tanzania, workers in the travel industry are feeling the icy chill of the worldwide recession. From 2004 to '07, global tourism boomed, with an average growth of 3.6% a year. But as consumers tightened purse strings and canceled vacations in the second half of 2008, tourism's contribution to the world economy grew just 1%, the industry's worst performance since the bursting of the tech bubble, the outbreak of SARS in Asia and the 9/11 terrorist attacks

world economy. By most accounts, tourism is one of the world's biggest industries, employing 7.6% of the world's workers (220 million) and generating a staggering 9.4% of global income (\$5.5 trillion). "If you look at its linkages with other sectors, you see how deeply it cuts into the economy," says Geoffrey Lipman, assistant secretary general of the U.N. World Tourism Organization (UNWTO). "Construction jobs, manufacturing jobs, restaurant jobs—they can all flow out of tourism."

Industry officials now want governments to start looking at the sector as a way to get economies back on track. "What are governments trying to do in a recession? They're trying to create jobs," Lipman says. "They say, 'Let's bail out the car manufacturers. Let's do something about the banks.' And they forget about the major opportunity they have with the travel sector."

A few governments are already moving. In March, Madrid pledged \$1.3 billion to modernize Spain's tourism infrastructure to fight off competition from sunshine destinations like Turkey and Egypt, which have become more competitive as the euro has appreciated. In Spain's Canary Islands, where tourism represents upwards of 60% of the local economy, the municipal tourism board recently began a series of seminars to help tourism workers cast off their perceived grumpiness. Course materials advise cabbies to "ensure your taxis smell nice, and don't drive too fast" and remind hotel staff that "a smile costs nothing."

Italy has taken a more traditional route by boosting advertising. In April, the national tourism board launched a \$13 mil-

lion initiative called "Italia Much More" to lure tourists from the U.S., Canada and the rest of Europe. "The crisis is tangible for everyone, and Italy will suffer," says Matteo Marzotto, head of the National Tourism Board. "We're in the middle of a war." That may sound dramatic, but consider this: in 2008, Italy's tourism revenues fell 5%, the first drop in seven years. The slump has already translated into a loss of \$5.2 billion and at least 150,000 jobs.

'The crisis is tangible for everyone, and Italy will suffer. We're in the middle of a war.'

—MATTEO MARZOTTO, HEAD OF ITALY'S NATIONAL TOURISM BOARD

The battle for the shrinking pool of tourists, naturally, is good news for anyone touring. Cambodia, Malaysia, Thailand and Vietnam have cut visa fees and worked with airlines, hotels and tourist sites to slash prices. Caribbean operators say deep price cuts have been essential to keeping the region in people's minds during the turmoil. Some Caribbean resorts have cut prices in half. "We're hoping that these deals will never have to see the light of day again," says Hugh Riley, secretary general of the Caribbean Tourism Organization, the body representing the travel interests of 32 nations in the region.

Once prohibitively expensive, places

such as South Korea and Iceland have been transformed into bargain getaways. The weakening of South Korea's won helped the country attract 7% more tourists last year—a faster rise than that of any other Asian destination—and so far this year, 50% more Japanese tourists have visited. In Iceland, where the krona has fallen sharply, the nation is betting on increased arrivals: this summer Icelandair will open up new routes to nine cities in Europe and North America. And VisitBritain, the official U.K. tourism body, is running a \$2.6 million ad campaign urging foreigners to "see more of Britain for less." "The pound isn't going to be this weak forever," says spokeswoman Hayley Senior.

Boosting tourism, however, isn't merely about attracting foreigners: governments are also courting their own citizens. In China, local authorities have distributed domestic-travel coupons nationwide. In Wuhan, a city along the Yangtze River in central China, \$146,000 worth of coupons was snapped up within 10 minutes at a promotional event, and the city has pledged more vouchers, totaling \$73 million. In Britain, it's estimated that 5 million more citizens will choose a staycation this year rather than venture to the pricey euro zone.

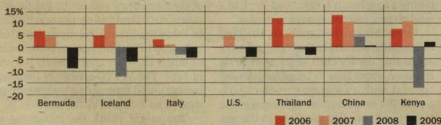
The sense of urgency is most pronounced in the developing world, where a job in tourism can be the difference between poverty and prosperity. In Kenya, a single employee at a hotel or restaurant supports four other people, according to Gerson Misumi, managing director of Tamarind

Management, a hospitality firm in Kenya and South Africa: "There's a chain of services that depend on our industry." Adds Lipman of the UNWTO: "Tourism is a good development agent because poor countries don't have to manufacture it." Developing nations already have their product—nature, culture, tradition—and all that's required to profit is a bit of investment in infrastructure and marketing. "The market comes to these countries then wanders around depositing foreign-exchange income wherever it's directed, including poor rural areas," Lipman adds. That's a handsome return on investment for any country, developing or otherwise.

—WITH REPORTING BY LIN YANG/BEIJING

Global tourism is huge—but the recession has hit spending and jobs


Getaway slowdown: change in



Source: World Travel & Tourism Council





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MEGACITIES

Joburg Gets It Together.

Soweto's unifying growth will be onstage at the World Cup

BY ALEX PERRY/SOWETO

CONFIRMATION OF HOW JOHANNESBURG and its most infamous township are becoming one—and how Joburg is changing from a place to escape to a destination—could come in a little over a year's time, on July 11, 2010. The World Cup final will be played at Soccer City, the spectacularly revamped 94,000-seat stadium shaped like an African calabash gourd on the eastern outskirts of Soweto. The world's biggest match, in a sport filled with African stars, played on Africa's premier ground in Africa's most famous township, will most likely have an atmosphere no game has ever seen.

The Cup final will allow the city to showcase the strides that Soweto and Joburg have been making to unify the city where it matters most: economically. Some of the efforts have been painful, others imaginative. For instance, at dawn on June 9, 400 people gathered on a bare patch of red earth outside the Orlando soccer stadium in Soweto for what the organizer, Luther Williamson, had billed as an "extreme park mission." By midafternoon, they had planted 200 trees and 71,000 plants and installed irrigation on 129,000 sq. ft. (12,000 sq m) of former wasteland.

It was the third such green makeover in Soweto for Williamson, the handsome, slightly hyperactive middle-aged man who runs Johannesburg's parks department. His ambition, he says, is for his teams to regreen the entire township. This is not just because trees are nice. "Wherever you make a place greener," says Williamson, "you don't have so many problems. Places where we've put these parks in, crime comes down 38%. Green spaces give people hope. No grime, no crime."

Few cities in the world can match Joburg's terrifying reputation for crime and fear—and it's been that way since it was founded. The city was built not around a port or even because of a pleasant climate (though it does have one) but on greed and haste. A decade after gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand in 1886, South Africa's largest and most lawless city appeared on the highveld with a name so hurriedly

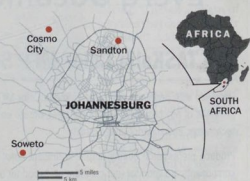


Green wave Volunteers create a park around Orlando Stadium in a single day. Joburg city bosses

given, it remains unclear who among three officials called Johann or Johannes gave it.

To these dubious origins, Joburg added racist town planning and, by the late 1990s, some of the world's highest rates of violent crime and HIV/AIDS. Today Joburg has an official population of more than 3 million and forms part of an urban sprawl including Soweto and the national capital, Pretoria, and comprising 8.8 million. That size ushers in all the usual megacity problems—million-dollar apartments overlooking millions of people in slums, rush-hour gridlock, overburdened infrastructure.

It's not surprising that many Joburgers try to shield themselves from all that. Houses in the white-dominated northern suburbs are fortresses of 10-ft.-high (3 m) walls, razor wire, electric fences and armed guards. Joburg's new black middle class has escaped to security estates like Cosmo City. The poor don't have that option—15 years after Nelson Mandela's African National Congress threw off white rule, millions of



Joburgers find themselves living in a kind of new economic apartheid in the townships. In the resentment it causes, that division sets the conditions for many of the city's other troubles.

Fixing Joburg means reuniting it. Mayor Amos Maseko's plan for "ensuring sustainable shared growth that benefits all" aims to do just that. And he has had some success. Businesses and restaur-



claim greenery helps redress inequality and cut crime



Suburban sprawl An improvised shop at the edge of Cosmo City. Some of Joburg's new black middle class has walled itself off from the urban poor



The pride of Soweto A photo op outside Soccer City, the 94,000-seat stadium that will host the opening and final games of the 2010 World Cup

rants have returned to the inner city, encouraged by new infrastructure projects like the Newtown Cultural Precinct, and crime is off its peak since the installation of hundreds of security cameras.

His biggest job is the city's biggest township. Soweto is an acronym for South Western Townships, the banal moniker apartheid-era leaders bestowed on the dormitory city they created for blacks on the edge of town. The apartheid government decided blacks had no need for not only freedom, fair wages and a decent education but also roads, trees and houses. Soweto was a place of tin shacks and red dirt. As part of the effort to redress this legacy of inequality, the mayor has repaved Soweto's main roads, and Williamson invented his extreme park missions.

But in other areas, progress has been slow. In 2005, Masondo announced that by 2009 he planned to rehouse all 215,000 families living in shacks. That deadline has passed, but the shantytowns are not gone.

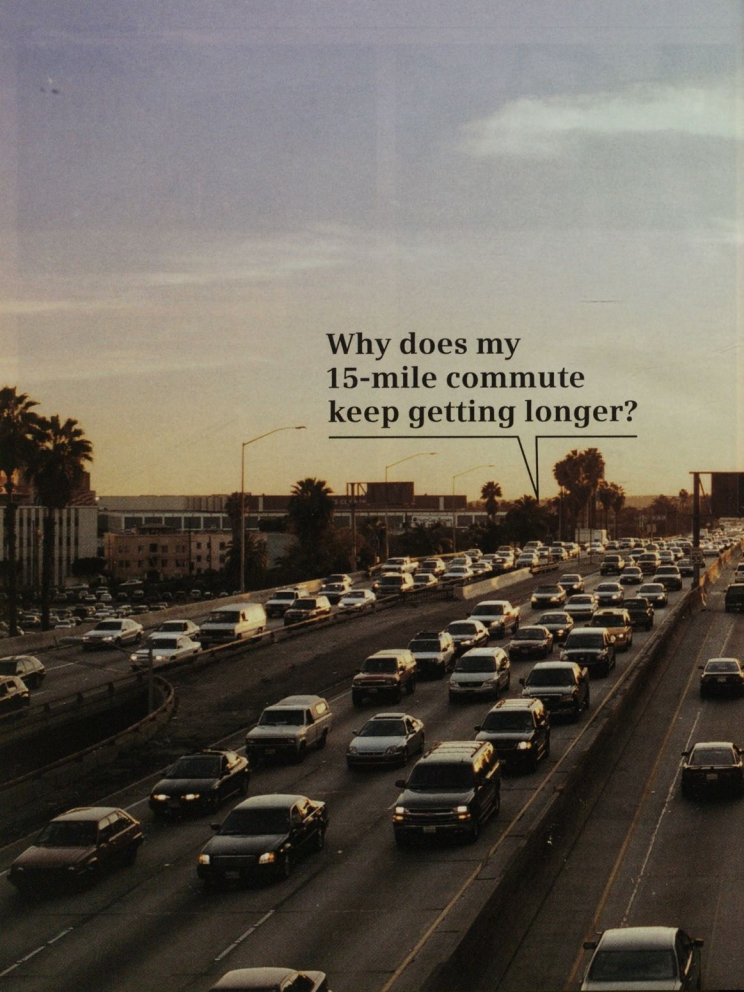
In May 2008 they erupted in riots that killed 62 people and displaced 100,000.

Lately, the pace of transformation has been picking up, and the World Cup is one of the reasons. In 2004, South Africa won the contest to host the 2010 soccer championships, ushering in a \$10 billion national infrastructure upgrade. In Joburg, that includes an underground train linking the city to a new airport, roads, a rapid bus system and two rehabbed stadiums. Most of the improvements were already planned, but as Williamson says, the Cup meant "a five-year plan became a two-year one."

Just as crucial as how the government is changing Soweto is how Soweto is changing itself. Soweto is the crucible of South Africa's growing black middle class, a status that comes as no surprise: as the place where the uprisings that eventually overthrew apartheid began and as the former home of Mandela and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the township has long been at the forefront of change. Today shacks are

being replaced by houses. Bars, restaurants and hotels are thriving. BMWs and Mercedeses clog the streets. Richard Maponya opened the glass-and-steel Maponya Mall on Soweto's main highway in 2007 with an ambition that it should be equal to any in the world. "Soweto has become this wonderful opportunity," he says. "It's becoming safer. Property prices are going up. Life is becoming just normal."

Thabang Kubheka left Soweto in 1999 to work on cruise ships and returned with her savings in 2002, at 27, to open Soweto's first beauty parlor, Roots. She now operates nine of them. "Soweto was notorious, a place where people killed each other, stabbed each other," she says. "Now people even come here from Sandton [a rich Joburg suburb]. The city is getting to know itself again. We're becoming one place again." When the world converges on South Africa for the World Cup next year, it will, officials hope, find a city, and a country, finally beginning to heal.



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Arts

BOOKS MOVIES SHORT LIST



BOOKS

Chef Lit. Anthony Bourdain raised the veil on down-and-dirty kitchen life. This year's crop of food writers keeps on dishing

BY LEV GROSSMAN

THE HERO OF GEORGE ORWELL'S *Down and Out in Paris and London* makes his living as a *plongeur*, which is what French people call the dishwasher/gofer/house elf in a restaurant. He starts off at a hotel in Paris: "The kitchen was like nothing I had ever seen or imagined—a stifling, low-ceilinged inferno of a cellar, red-lit from the fires, and deafening with oaths and the

clanging of pots and pans." The book recounts his descent into the culinary hell of a busy professional kitchen: a dirty, angry, vulgar, drunken, pressurized little world that's oddly invisible to outsiders. "There sat the customers in all their splendor," he observes, "spotless tablecloths, bowls of flowers, mirrors and gilt cornices and painted cherubim; and here, just a few feet away, we in our disgusting filth."

It was invisible then. Now we recognize

it right away: this is Anthony Bourdain's world. Bourdain is no Julia Child or Hervé This—he's not a culinary innovator—but in 2000 he changed forever the way we think about food with the publication of *Kitchen Confidential*, his scabrous, astoundingly funny, weirdly touching tell-all about his career in New York City restaurant kitchens. It's not just that he told us not to order fish on a Monday (because it's probably been around since last Thursday)

and that the bread on our table probably got recycled from the table of somebody else who maybe sneezed on it. He changed our whole cultural idea of what a kitchen is. Pre-Bourdain, it was a warm, cozy, maternal place. Now it's a profane, brutal, masculine crucible, where human frailty is rendered away like so much tasty bacon fat.

The literature of the post-Bourdainian era is vast and unfortunately mostly forgettable (with a few notable exceptions, like Bill Buford's *Heat*). But to those who crave them, even bad chef memoirs have a certain mesmerizing quality. Take John DeLuca's *The Hunger* (Ecco; 233 pages). Unlike Bourdain, DeLuca is not a particularly gifted writer. Also unlike Bourdain, he is annoyingly successful as a chef: he runs Manhattan's sceney Waverly Inn. All the stuff about models hitting on him makes him substantially less relatable.

And yet *The Hunger* is far from unfindable. When Bismarck said laws are like sausages, his point was that you shouldn't watch them getting made. But who among us has not wondered about sausages—or about where the prepared food actually comes from in an upscale purveyor like Dean & DeLuca? DeLuca worked at a Dean & DeLuca fresh out of cooking school, and he has the answer: a windowless, battleship-gray underground kitchen, where a Flying Dutchman crew of lost, disaffected and recently deinstitutionalized—but not necessarily untalented—cooks labors robotically over 25 lb. (11 kg) stainless-steel bowls of Red Bliss potato salad.

One is somehow richer for possessing this knowledge. Food, especially restaurant food, comes to us as a highly wrought object, but who wrought it and how is a matter that's usually concealed from us. Books like *The Hunger*—along with satisfying our curiosity about who has sex in the walk-in freezer, and how exactly—restore the link between food and the labor that created it. They're Marxist gastronomy.

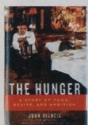
The new crop of chef memoirs includes a rather raughty cooking-school diary (Katherine Darling's *Under the Table* [Atria; 384 pages]) and the life and times of a pastry chef (Dalia Jurgensen's *Spiced* [Putnam; 288 pages])—naughtier than you'd expect—but the best of them by a mile is by a former chef of no particular distinction named Jason Sheehan, now an extraordinarily good food writer. *Cooking Dirty* (Farrar, Straus & Giroux; 355 pages) is his account of a career spent largely at what he calls "the low end of the culinary world": late-night shifts at diners, bars and neighborhood joints. Some of it is pure drudgery—like prepping a "literal ton of corned-beef briskets" at an Irish pub the week before St. Patrick's Day—but when the orders start pouring in, the pace

Cooks With Books. True and fictional tales from the kitchen



Under the Table
Katherine Darling

The author trades her job for a course at Manhattan's French Culinary Institute



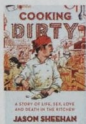
The Hunger
John DeLuca

How the chef at the schmancy Waverly Inn restaurant got there: the hard way



In the Kitchen
Monica Ali

A novel about a London hotel chef who's having a midlife crack-up



Cooking Dirty
Jason Sheehan

A hugely entertaining memoir of working in high-pressure, low-rent kitchens



Spiced
Dalia Jurgensen

The (not all sweet) life, loves and cakes of a pastry chef in Brooklyn, N.Y.

novel of consequence is Monica Ali's *In the Kitchen* (Scribner; 436 pages), set in a hotel restaurant in London. The restaurant's executive chef, Gabriel, has clawed his way up effortfully from the working classes, but having done so, he is now, at 42, having a midlife crisis. He's not having much luck starting a restaurant of his own or marrying his girlfriend Charlie. He does manage to cheat on her with a porter named Lena, a Belarusian girl who has herself just escaped a life of prostitution. Meanwhile, another porter has turned up dead, Gabriel's father is dying, and his mother is subsiding into dementia.

Ali, who wrote the celebrated *Brick Lane*, gets the kitchen just right: the crushing pace, the fistfights, the grills and griddles and salamanders, the guy who's always walking around with a leek hanging out of his fly. But her interest in it is somewhat different from, say, Sheehan's. For Ali it is—at the risk of sending you screaming back to high school English class—a microcosm of England, a country that is also, not coincidentally, having a midlife crisis. The kitchen is a strange crossroads zone where high culture and manual labor collide. It's radically globalized and borderless, with workers from Liberia and India and Moldova. (The hotel is called, inevitably, the Imperial.) Ali's kitchen is, like England, something of a muddle: "If the Imperial were a person, thought Gabe, you would say here is someone who does not know who she is."

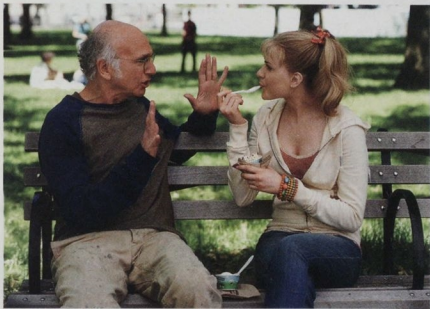
If you're in search of pure high-octane kitchen action, though, *In the Kitchen* is unfortunately a bit of a drag. Although they resemble each other in their manic masculinity, Ali's kitchen turns out to be the inverse of Bourdain's, and it demonstrates exactly what made *Kitchen Confidential* so appealing. The Bourdainian kitchen is not a muddle. It is in fact the last redoubt of clarity in a muddled world. Hot and filthy it may be, but it's the place where all the stuff that bedevils the modern human's attempts to pull together a stable, clear identity—race, class, history, gender—finally gets sorted out. Good and bad are not ambiguous or relative. If you're weak, you'll break down like a poorly emulsified vinaigrette, but if you can hack it, then wherever you're from, whatever language you speak, you know where and who you are and what you're doing: you're a saucier, or a sous, or a prep monkey, or a *plongeur*, or a chef.

As Sheehan puts it, the restaurant kitchen is "the last true American meritocracy. No one cares about your past or what you do on the outside. Can you cook? That's all anyone cares about." Gabriel is a sympathetic and beautifully realized character, but one suspects he wouldn't last a night at the Waverly Inn. ■

and chaos and heat in even a low-end kitchen somehow fuse into a kind of mass lunatic joy. "I am God of the box," he writes, "the brain-damaged Lord Commander of a kingdom of fifty feet by five and made entirely of stainless steel, industrial tile, knives, sweat and fire."

The Melting-Pot Kitchen

SOME OF THE STUFF IN *COOKING DIRTY* beggars belief—like the time Sheehan accidentally stuck an 8-in. (20 cm) chef's knife right through his hand, pulled it out and went back to chopping—but so far there has been relatively little actual post-Bourdainian fiction. Possibly the first



The curmudgeon and the cutie Boris (David) imparts his dour worldview to Melody (Wood)

MOVIES

Works like a Charm. In this tale of an old grouch and a Southern belle, Woody Allen hatches his freshest film in ages

BY RICHARD CORLISS

"ON THE WHOLE, I'M SORRY TO SAY, WE'RE a failed species." Thus pronounceth Boris Yellnikoff (Larry David), a quantum physicist by trade and a raging grouch by temperament. "I'm a man with a huge worldview," this self-proclaimed genius says. "I'm surrounded by microbes." In his 60s, with a research career, an ex-wife and a failed suicide attempt on his résumé, Boris teaches chess to kids, whom he insults mercilessly. His few friends indulge his rants but think he's a little nuts, in part because he's the only one who realizes he's in a film. He stares out at the audience, whom he's not too crazy about either, and warns us, "This is not the feel-good movie of the year. So if you're one of those idiots who needs to feel good, go get yourself a foot massage."

Boris is the king of pessimists, but into each reign some life must fall. It comes in the pretty package of Melody St. Ann Celestine (Evan Rachel Wood), who might be as old as 20 and who's run away from her Mississippi family to end up homeless in Manhattan. She talks her way into a stay in Boris' place, and in a trice, she has kind of a crush on him. They get married, and...

Not again, we hear you groaning. Another Woody Allen movie that propagandizes crabby old guys attracting cute young women. This is not a comedy scenario; it's a criminal offense, right? Except that in

Whatever Works, Allen has taken his usual ingredients—mismatched pairings, the collision of the bitter and the sweet, an abiding love for Dixieland jazz, classic Hollywood movies and his hometown—and somehow made his freshest film in ages. After four pictures abroad, two of which (*Match Point* and *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*) were pretty good, the 73-year-old writer-director has found new vigor and warmth in his old surroundings. Melody's perky nature rubs off on Boris and on the entire enterprise. No kidding: this is the feel-good movie of the year and a cinematic soul massage.

A lot of the fun comes from Boris' splenetic vigor: his misery is good company. He's an artist of invective—and in this year's movie gallery of mean old men, a chattier cousin of the widower in Pixar's *Up*. Credit Boris' vitality to David, resident curmudgeon on HBO's *Curb Your Enthusiasm*. Boris isn't far from roles Allen has written for himself, yet sentiments that sound whiny when Allen articulates them have a robust manliness in David's voice. Rancor is the

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medicine that keeps Boris alive. It makes him the ideal foil for Melody's cheerful resilience (which Wood winningly captures) and gives him a tart appeal, even when he's condemning the universe as "this cruel, dog-eat-dog, pointless black chaos" and his own film audience as "Neanderthals"—or when he observes that "while a black man got into the White House, he still can't get a cab in New York." Like Molière, Allen and David know there are few spectacles drollier than a misanthrope in full fester.

Whatever Works also owes a debt to *The Wizard of Oz*. Melody is Dorothy, Boris is the fulminating old wizard, and Oz—well, that has to be Manhattan: Gotham as the Emerald City, full of endearing creatures who make dreams come true. The town has a magical effect on its visitors. Melody picks up some of Boris' dour rhetoric, except that for *cretins* she says "croutons." Her parents, having followed her trail north, get the feeling too. Her staid father (Ed Begley Jr.) unbuttons his sexual inhibitions, and her Blanche DuBois-like mom (a stingingly funny Patricia Clarkson) becomes a noted photographer and full-time free spirit.

Allen unabashedly loved the city in its grimy, dangerous years; his 1979 *Manhattan* opened with fireworks over Central Park, to the strains of Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue*. That's when the script for *Whatever Works* first took shape. Today the city is spiffier, and Boris is mired in '70s disgust. But Allen isn't; he's a tour guide to local attractions, from the Statue of Liberty to Madame Tussauds on the Disneyfied 42nd Street. It's a vision of New York City as the welcomer and transformer of all lost souls, possibly including Boris the grouse.

And if you were wondering, the marriage of Boris and Melody is meant as a demonstration that opposites may attract, but they don't last. Taking a cue from *Smiles of a Summer Night*, one of Allen's favorite Ingmar Bergman films, *Whatever Works* liberates its characters from their conventional domestic alliances and finds new lovers: like with like, youth with youth, man with surprisingly congenial woman or man.

This movie, though, is more than the sum of the films it echoes, including Allen's own. It's common for reviewers of his recent work to cite an early triumph like *Bananas* or *Annie Hall* and find the new ones lacking. *Whatever Works* is different: it has that young-Woody fizz with a mature comic romanticism; it's been aged in wit. If Allen has a decade or two of films left in him and if he makes a really excellent one years from now, people will say, "It's terrific, but it's no *Whatever Works*."

MOVIES

Big Star. Bad Movies. Sandra Bullock has loads of screen appeal. Now if she could just find a good vehicle for it

BY RICHARD CORLISS

IF HOLLYWOOD WERE TO CROWN A KING and queen of nice movie stars, Sandra Bullock would be on a throne next to Tom Hanks. She's been a headliner since the mid-1990s (she turns 45 in July) without incurring the hatred or envy of the town's rapier-tongued gossips. Apparently she is kind to children, dogs and the little people on the set. Onscreen, Bullock personifies the wholesome, working-class common sense of the ideal friend or girlfriend. From her first hits, *Speed* and *While You Were Sleeping*, she knew how to get laughs and produce tears with equal, unforced agility. And with Julia Roberts' four-year break from starring roles (until this spring's *Duplicity*), Bullock is the one enduring star actress of her age. All this stokes a rooting interest in film folk and audiences alike. They just wish she were in better movies.

You could count Bullock's above-average pictures on one hand and not use the thumb. Her two early hits, plus *A Time to Kill* and the sinfully enjoyable *Miss Congeniality*, would just about exhaust the list. Even adding the very debatable large-ensemble *Crash* wouldn't give her a high batting average, considering her sub-par romantic comedies (*Two Weeks Notice*), dramas (*The Lake House*) and female-bonding weepies (*Divine Secrets of the Ya-Ya Sisterhood*). Yet every year or so, Bullock goes back in front of the camera, trying to prove there's a place in movies for a star actress with a light, sure touch. And each time, her fans show up, hoping this will be the film that is as winning as they know she can be.

The Proposal isn't it—too predictable and schematic by half—but it indicates what a good Sandra Bullock film might be. She plays Margaret Tate, the top dog editor at a Manhattan publishing company who's so hard, you could skate on her. Margaret routinely humiliates all her co-workers, especially her male

assistant, Andrew Paxton (Ryan Reynolds), who stays in the awful job because he wants to be promoted to an editor's job. Fat chance. But now Margaret, a Canadian, is threatened with deportation unless she gets married to a U.S. citizen ... say, her male assistant. Strictly business: quick wedding, quicker divorce, promotion accomplished. Deal?

The movie plot of a successful career woman and her male secretary was actually

a Hollywood staple in the '30s (*Man Wanted*) and '40s (*Take a Letter, Darling*), long before the setup was common in American business. Here, the underlying role allows Andrew to direct the kind of barbs at Margaret that all secretaries wish they could say with impunity to their bosses. (For her to be sweet, he says, "is going to require that you stop snacking on children when they dream.") *The Proposal* also employs the antique device of the warring couple obliged to act like lovers. Margaret and Andrew have to meet his parents back home in Alaska and sell the pretense that they're happily engaged, leading to many forced smiles and private grimaces.

Having created Margaret as a terma-gant, screenwriter Pete Chiarelli and director Anne Fletcher put her through a film-length rehab of tough love. You just know that her early nastiness will require a public confession and that if she mentions she can't swim, she will get embarrassingly wet. But through all the creaky scaffolding, one can catch glimpses of the fine comedy this could have been—if only the characters weren't cardboard, the plot not a course in

With each new film, she tries to prove there's a place in modern movies for a star actress with a light, sure touch

corrective behavior. Reynolds has a gentle, manly appeal, and Bullock, when Margaret cracks into humanity, lets her charm radiate like a lighthouse beam over a sea of sludge.

So Bullock faces two big challenges. She's a star actress at a bad time for the breed (a recent *Forbes* study showed that Hollywood's 10 top-earning actors were all men), and her gifts of subtle endearment just aren't needed in movies that force their stars into Manichean opposition.

Make that three problems: the rise of younger actresses like Reese Witherspoon, Kate Hudson and Katherine Heigl, who have built their own constituencies with hit movies and are now more likely than Bullock to be offered the few good romantic-comedy scripts that get written these days. Being liked is great, but Hollywood loves nothing more than a solid movie that proves a star personality can again be box-office gold. ■



Miss Congeniality But in her new film, she needs lessons in nice



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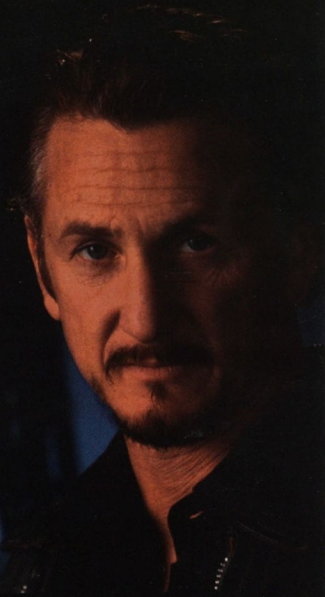
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Short List

TIME'S PICKS FOR THE WEEK



1 DVD The Seventh Seal and Bergman Island

Ingmar Bergman's 1957 morality play about a knight playing chess with Death never had such clarity as in Criterion's Blu-ray edition. The big extra (also sold separately) is a 2003 docu-chat showing Bergman talking frankly about his films, his many women and, of course, God and death.

2 BOOK The Bolter

In an amorous yet faithless marriage, at a time (1919) when affairs were rampant but divorce still scandalous, Idina Sackville did what few Englishwomen dared: she bolted. Her great-granddaughter Frances Osborne tracks Sackville's headlong, lifelong pursuit of love.

3 DVD Louise Bourgeois

Bourgeois, now 97, is both the art world's grande dame and its shameless old lady, spinning personal history into works of profound strangeness. Two filmmakers followed her from 1993 to 2007 to make this portrait of a tart, beguiling woman who did it her way.

4 ALBUM Lines, Vines and Trying Times

The Jonas Brothers' fourth album has more instant pop melodies and fewer kiddie digressions, which makes the group's seemingly abundant women troubles ("Poison Ivy," "World War III" and "What Did I Do to Your Heart") a little more believable.

5 BOOK The City & the City

Beszel and Ul Qoma are closer than your usual twin cities: they coexist uneasily on the same site but in different dimensions. Look, if I could explain it better, I'd be China Miéville, the darkly brilliant writer whose new police procedural is set in Beszel (and Ul Qoma).



Joan Cusack's Short List

Ever since her 1980 film debut in *My Bodyguard*, actress Joan Cusack has been quite the working girl, with 39 films on her résumé and two Academy Award nominations. Next up is *My Sister's Keeper*, out June 26. Off the set, you can find Cusack cheering for the Chicago Blackhawks or reading to her son from dizzying heights.

American Matisse

I went to a dinner party with my husband about 10 years ago, and there were at least three Milton Avery paintings on the walls. They have been at the forefront of my art sense ever since. Avery was often called the American Matisse, and his work is peaceful, gentle and sophisticated.

Hooked on hockey

Blackhawks hockey is so exciting, especially if you get to go to the games. It's great family time too. I learned about hockey from watching my sons learn to play, and now I am hooked.

A gal's gal

Junie B. Jones is a character in a series of books by Barbara Park. I discovered this sweet, delicious maiden while reading to my son Dylan when we rented a cabin that was so vertical that I almost got dizzy. Nonetheless, we would climb to the top of a bunk bed, and I would read Junie B. Jones to him. She's a gal's gal—fearless, joyful, fully human and soooooo funny.

Inspiration, in and out of the kitchen

Julia Child is a role model who showed that it's never too late: she didn't learn to cook till she was 37 and didn't start her career till age 50. She was not perfect and did not preach perfection but delight. She found her passion.

Incongruous comedy

I love the kind of comedy that comes from the incongruity of things. Monty Python is wild but often very real as incongruent comedy. And Walter Matthau and Elaine May in *A New Leaf* epitomize my idea of comedy.



Arts Online

For more reviews and openings this weekend, go to time.com/entertainment



Nancy

Gibbs

Dads Are Dudes. Modern men are increasingly engaged—and relaxed—parents. Moms ought to take notes

MY MOTHER USED TO TELL MY FATHER THAT HE WAS A very good mother. This was her way of praising his attendance at every concert and game, his patience and care. In those days, "good mother" was the highest domestic achievement; to have called him a good father, given how low the bar was set, wouldn't have done him justice.

But that was long, long ago. Now fathers sing to their babies in utero, come to birthing class, coach mom through delivery (as opposed to the days of the hospital stork clubs, where fathers smoked and paced while mothers delivered their offspring). They can buy strap-on breasts, so they can share in the bonding without the sore nipples. And baby toupees, for those sensitive about hairlessness. I can't help thinking that the increased engagement of fathers has some direct connection to the increased availability of baby gadgets, since having two fanatically engaged parents offers twice the target for retailers.

The typical father spends about seven hours per week in "primary child care," which doesn't sound like a lot until you realize it's more than twice as much as in 1965. Roughly 60% of male high school students told researchers they planned to cut their work hours when they become dads; the recession rushes the trend, as men get laid off at three times the rate of women and the division of labor gets a sudden jolt.

Among other things, this all means fathers are now much better positioned to write parenting books like Michael Lewis' *Home Game* and Sam Apple's *American Parent: My Strange and Surprising Adventures in Modern Babyland*. These are nothing like the self-punishing *Memoirs of Old*, nor the earnest advice books, nor the new genre of Bad Mom confessions that somehow manage to be self-flagellating and smug at the same time.

The dad diarists approach their subject like anthropologists, engaged in rational inquiry into an alien culture and the nature of nurture. Thus I learned from Apple things I never knew from reading *What to Expect When You're Expecting*, like the Stalinist roots of Lamaze and the fact that in the 1st century Pliny the Elder recommended that women in labor drink goose semen mixed with water to ease the process along.

Maybe the respectful distance men keep reflects the obvious ambivalence so many women show about

male involvement. We talk about fathers like puppies tripping over their big paws, a portrait long mirrored in a culture in which Father Knows Least, from Fred Flintstone to Homer Simpson. We diminish with faint praise; dads still get points for returning children at the end of the day with all their limbs in place. But the more engaged fathers become, the more women have to reckon with what a true parenting partnership would look like.

Maternal condescension only really took hold in the modern age, when we turned parenting into a profession with its own implicit peer-review boards and

competitive frenzy. Rather than uniting to promote a culture that would make parenting easier for everyone, we have wasted a huge amount of energy and airspace on fighting among ourselves over what constitutes the perfect balance between head and heart and work and home. "I avoid old friends on Facebook," reads the post on [Truemomconfessions.com](http://truemomconfessions.com), "because when I compare my life to theirs, I am so ashamed of where I am."

But when did you last read about the Daddy Wars? Men compete against one another in every arena except this one, maybe out of indifference, but more often out of humility. Most fathers I know make fun of themselves, and of the mystery of it all, as though content that being a parent is a skill you practice but never master. There is much doubt, but less guilt. Apple calls American Fatherhood "the longest-running identity crisis of all time," but largely refrains from offering fellow new fathers any advice—though in the course of his journey, he encounters so much nonsense on how to Build Better Children that one develops an allergy to the whole notion of trying to re-engineer them at all.

As we create this new domestic economy, the rising generation of mothers may see the value in trading control for collaboration and lighten up a little, both with Dad and one another. You already feel the rising backlash against hyper-parenting; I suspect the less possessive we are, the less obsessive we'll be. I write this as one who always knew that my husband would be the better parent of the two of us, able to slide, with joy and mischief, into our children's world rather than drag them prematurely into ours. On this Father's Day, the nicest thing anyone could say to me? That I've been a good dad too. ■



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